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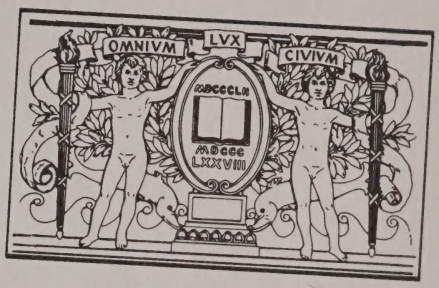

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

VOL. LXXV.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY.
No. 112 Washington Street.

1852.

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RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.

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ERRATA.

Page 166, line 2. *For* St. Leger, *read* the Cedars.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLVI.

JULY, 1852.

ART. I. — *The Progress of the Intellect, as exemplified in the Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews.* By ROBERT WILLIAM MACKAY. London. 1850. 2 vols. 8vo.

A PROGRESS of the Intellect in matters of religion is certainly possible; for the fact that there has been such a progress rests on the basis of historical evidence. But there cannot be progress to such an extent as to annihilate all positive fact and absolute truth, and render religion a purely subjective affair, or a mere process of unsubstantial and unsupported mental phenomena. Such a progress, having neither starting-point nor goal, would annul itself.

Whatever doctrine may be maintained on the subject of the genealogical unity of mankind, and whatever views may be adopted in regard to the existence and propagation of primeval traditions of an original divine revelation, certain it is, that facts of this kind lie in the unexplored recesses of an ante-historical period, and that the various historical nations have exhibited, from age to age, a progress of the intellect in their religious development, running parallel with their progress in other departments, and thus keeping pace with the advancing stages of general civilization. Therefore, on the hypothesis of a primeval revelation, we must suppose its traditionary light to have

grown more and more dim in the case of pagan nations, or where it was not embodied in an authentic written record, until it scarcely served any other purpose than to people the superstitious fancy with huge, indefinable, spectral images, and misshapen phantoms of popular fear; while the light of natural reason, gradually increasing in intensity and fulness, shone more and more brightly upon the objects of religious faith. Those fading traditions can have furnished only the rude and confused materials of the intellectual edifice. But whatever, and however necessary, such materials may have been, the history of the erection of the structure itself cannot but be replete with interest, especially in the case of the Greeks, among whom it attained, perhaps, its most perfect pagan development.

Such a history one might expect from the book before us; and such a history one will find therein, to some extent. After Creutzer's great work on the Symbolism and Mythology of the ancient nations, particularly of the Greeks, it is no very difficult task to give a tolerably good account of the religious development of this latter people; at least, within the mythological sphere, which Creutzer had marked out for himself. And how largely Mr. Mackay is indebted to his German predecessor for his materials and his ideas is sufficiently indicated by the fact, that, with so different a title, and one inviting apparently to so different a field of investigation and mode of treatment, he has followed Creutzer's track almost throughout in his Progress of the Greek Intellect, and given only some eighty pages in all to the development of the religious idea in Greek Philosophy. These pages, however, it must be confessed, though they could not be expected to contain any thing new, present a remarkably clear, concise, and satisfactory summary of this part of the subject.

Creutzer we regard as very high authority, and as, altogether, the most satisfactory philosophical writer on the subject of general Mythology. His work is remarkably free from extravagances and anti-Christian innuendoes, and, indeed, seems to have been written for the most part in an impartial and enlightened Christian spirit. Yet we are not prepared to swallow his system as a whole, or each of its separate details, with that childish confidence and

abandon, which, singularly yet naturally enough, are so often characteristic of a certain class of minds which would make amends for their infidelity in some directions by their credulity in others. What high symbolical meanings one might not evolve from any object whatever, taken at random, it is impossible to say before trial; especially when he who is to perform the work is possessed of a highly speculative and imaginative character; yet more, when he is indoctrinated in the mysteries of the transcendental and ideal philosophies; and most of all, when he is a German. There can be no reasonable doubt, we think, that Creutzer has attached a fund of significance to the several details of the ancient Mythologies which had never occurred to the mind of one in a thousand of those multitudes to whom those mythologies were as familiar as household words, and who received them as containing the symbols of their own religion. It is not probable, even, that any one, or even all, of the most enlightened Grecian philosophers could have developed from their own consciousness, or from that of their neighbors, the symbolism of their mythologies, with any thing like the ideal refinement and systematic fulness with which it is presented by Creutzer. Yet, for ourselves, we are not disposed to doubt that the symbolical ideas which Creutzer sets forth, or others of a similar kind, did really and practically, though quite indistinctly and unconsciously, lie at the foundation of the Greek Mythologies and Mysteries. Those ideas, if not the results of a primeval tradition, were a sort of instinctive or spontaneous growth of genial nature. But after all this modern exposition of them, we must not forget that, as a complete system of mythological interpretation, they had never come out to the clear consciousness of the ancient Greeks; had never entered their minds, indeed, except in a few rare cases, and then in a very fragmentary and disjointed way. We might as well take modern chemistry for an exponent of the state of chemical science among them, because it is developed out of materials with which they were familiar, and from ideas the elements of which had more or less distinctly occurred to the minds of some of their philosophers, as to take the results of Creutzer's *Symbolik* for a fair exponent of the actual religious sentiment and

consciousness of the earlier Greeks. It is true that something of the sort was more fully developed by the later philosophers, but only with the design of thereby rendering Paganism defensible against Christianity.

Moreover, at the risk of being charged with having no taste, no faculty of apprehension, in such matters — a charge which serves as an easy method to Creutzer himself and some others to get rid of a troublesome critic — we venture to think that he has made many of his representations of Greek Mythology confused, by bringing into immediate juxtaposition the various, and sometimes incongruous, fragmentary suggestions of the early poets and philosophers, the later interpretations of the expounders of the mysteries, the analogies of Oriental and Egyptian Symbolism, and finally the idealizing inferences of his own mind.

It is not our intention to review Creutzer. What we have meant to indicate is, that even he is not to be received with stupid veneration as a divine oracle; that he is to be used with one's eyes open and one's judgment awake, lest he should be misunderstood and thus abused; and finally, that he has his positive faults and defects. We have meant to say this, because we mean to say further, that Mr. Mackay, in treating this part of his subject, is, in our apprehension, guilty of the same faults, and in a much more aggravated degree. One rarely meets with such extreme feebleness of digestion and assimilation, joined with such an enormous appetite for accumulating materials. Take the following from his account of Hercules and Prometheus.

"The Persian beacon on the mountain top represented the rock-born divinity enshrined in his worthiest temple, and the funeral conflagration of Hercules was the sun dying in glory behind the western hills, as by a maritime people he would be made to sink to his repose, not behind his 'Delphian rock,' but beneath the waves in which he was observed to plunge. The scene of the decline and suffering of the deity was often the same which had been the witness of his living glory; and the pillar to which Prometheus was bound, like the stone of Sisyphus or tree of Peleus or Pentheus, was probably but a familiar emblem of the god converted into the instrument of his humiliation. It was the Hermetic pillar comprising so many symbolical meanings, at once the

rude block of infant sculpture and the heavenly axis supported by Atlas, the column of the palace of the Styx or the house of Dagon, or one of those sun obelisks called pillars of Seth, of Atlas, of Hercules, or of Dionysos, which were placed both in the East and West at the supposed limits of his course. In the contest of the sons of Aphareus with the Amyclæan Tyndaridæ, Idas, with a stone pillar belonging to his father's tomb, stuns for a time the immortal Pollux, until Zeus interposes to release him; Phocus is killed by the stone hurled by Peleus, Ares, and even Hercules, by that of Athene; Theseus descending to the infernal world is there chained to a stone until rescued by Hercules, and is finally hurled from a rock by Lycomedes. It is the stony oppression of winter's abeyance, the stone roofing of the Styx, the rock of Niobe which lives and weeps in summer, and the sword of Ægeus underneath it is the penetrating warmth softening the torpid ground, the same golden weapon borne by Perseus, and by Jemsheed, of which Peleus during his desolation was deprived, and which the legislator of Athens, the conqueror of the equinoctial Minotaur, is in his turn to recover and to wield;"—and so on and on, page after page. Vol. ii. pp. 86–88, &c.

Here is a hotch-potch of deities identified with the stones they throw at one another, and with the trees and pillars to which they are fastened for punishment, mixed up with suns and seasons, and swords and beacon-fires, let loose *pêle-mêle* in all the incongruous and inconsistent characters which could be got together by a dragnet from all the four quarters of the globe. We shall see further use to be made of these *God-stones* hereafter.

It is not our intention to enlarge in the way of strictures upon this part of Mr. Mackay's performance, or to dwell upon it in any point of view. We read it on the whole with satisfaction and edification, so far as the author confined himself to the subject in hand. But the book brings to view a subject far more momentous than Greek Mythology, and which is specifically treated under the head of the Religious Development of the Hebrews. This is a subject which Mr. Mackay himself must have felt to be his leading theme, and which he must have known would determine the character of what he wrote, in the eyes of most of his readers. That such is the fact is evident from the tone of the introductory chapters, from the frequent allusions to this subject in all parts of his book, and from what he knew was the state of public

opinion in regard to it among those who use the language in which the book is written. We here refer to the assumption on which we understand our author to proceed throughout; that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments have no more claim to a divine origin or authority than the works of Orpheus, or Homer, or Hesiod, of Plato or Origen, of Confucius, Zoroaster, or Mahomet; and that positive Christianity is a mere vulgar prejudice and antiquated superstition.

In the presence of such an assumption as this, all nice disquisitions about the personages and the ideas of Greek Mythology, however beautiful, ingenious, or learned, though fortified by the most astonishing erudition of marginal references, and set forth with all the charms of poetry and eloquence, must nevertheless sink into absolute insignificance. The truth of the Christian Revelation, not only to all who believe it, but to all who have been instructed in its history and doctrines, is a matter of practical and infinite, of every-day and eternal, moment. It is no mere question of philosophic speculation. It is an affair of life and death. A man, therefore, who takes the ground of Mr. Mackay on this subject, must not expect Christian readers to become complacently absorbed in his learned and ingenious theorizing on pagan mythology, while he is all along, sometimes impliedly and by crafty insinuations, sometimes openly and by gross assaults, treating the objects of their dearest associations and holiest feelings with ridicule, odium, and blasphemy.

To obtain a right understanding of the point of view from which our author regards the Holy Scriptures and the Christian religion, it will be instructive to have before us some of his general philosophical and theological principles.

"Axioms," he says, "derive their seeming independent reality not from any priority to experience, but from the multiplicity and familiarity of the experiences supporting them." Vol. i. p. 28.

In support of this view he cites Mill's Logic and Herschel's Discourse. The citation of Herschel is second-hand, being made by Mill in the place referred to; and after all, it is very doubtful whether, when fairly interpreted, it supports Mackay's statement; in one point, at

least, it directly contradicts it. As for Mill, whose doctrines have furnished for many infidel theories the firmest basis they were ever able to find, he has labored this point at great length, and with great acumen, it must be confessed; but after all, his whole discussion is a mere *argumentum ad hominem* against a particular man, and depends ultimately upon a poor quibble on the word *inconceivable*, which Whewell had happened to use somewhat too loosely. Mill, in fact, denies all necessary truth and absolute certainty. He talks, indeed, of self-evident truths and demonstrations; but how there can be any room for either, if all axioms depend upon experience, not only chronologically, as being suggested in connection with it, but logically, as having experience alone for their basis and voucher, we must leave Mr. Mill and Mr. Mackay to determine.

"A cause is only a selection or summary, more or less accurate, of attendant phenomenal conditions." Vol. i. p. 29.

Mr. Mill more adroitly defines the cause of a phenomenon as "the assemblage of its conditions;" adding that "the cause is not the invariable *antecedent*, but the *unconditional* invariable *antecedent;*" and finally, merely admitting that a cause may be defined as "the assemblage of phenomena, which occurring, some other phenomenon invariably commences or has its origin."

In all these definitions, it would seem that the idea of power or efficiency, that is, the proper idea of *causation*, is quite lost sight of. We have no *noumena*, nothing but phenomenal accompaniments. Under this view, it is, of course, impossible to prove the existence of God as a first cause, unless he become one of the phenomenal conditions of things; and in this view, the cause of moving an arm cannot be the mind, the man willing, but only the volition, the phenomenon, the act of consciousness.

"All notions are subjective, and between human truth and error there is only, strictly speaking, the difference of a greater or less degree of subjectivity."

"All our ideas are results of comparison, the ultimate standard of reference being ourselves." Vol. i. pp. 34, 161.

Of course, then, there are not only no *a priori* axioms,

and no really efficient causes, but no proper objective truth for the human mind. That such is Mr. Mackay's deliberate view is further evident from the following.

"The true religious philosophy of an imperfect being is not a system of creed, but as Socrates thought, an infinite search or approximation. Finality [that is, we suppose, the attainment of real, objective truth,] is but another name for bewilderment and defeat, the common affectation of indolence and superstition." Vol. ii. p. 172.

Thus, then, we can have now no higher guaranty of religious truth, — of the immortality of the soul, for example, — than Socrates had, except the experience of a longer search after it. Nor does it appear by what means we have ascertained it to be *true* that we are on the right track in our search; by what test we determine whether our movement is direct or retrograde, an approximation or an elongation with respect to the truth, or whether it has any relation whatever to that unknown, undiscoverable, unattainable, unimaginable somewhat. The assurance of "progress," as well as of "finality," seems to be annulled on such a scheme.

He develops his theological and ethical ideas thus.

"Ignorance sees nothing necessary, and is self-abandoned to a power tyrannical because defined by no rule, and paradoxical because permitting evil, while assumed to be unlimited, all-powerful, and good. A little knowledge, presuming an identification of the Supreme Cause with the inevitable certainty of perfect reason, but omitting the analysis or interpretation of it, leaves the mind chain-bound in the ascetic fatalism of the Stoic. Something of both these states of feeling attaches to the supernaturalist who contemplates a Being acting through impulse, though with superhuman wisdom, and considering the best courtier to be the most favored subject, combines contradictory expedients, inconsistently mixing the assertion of free action with the enervating service of petition. Man becomes morally free only when the notions of chance and of incomprehensible necessity are both displaced by that of law. Man commands results only by selecting among the contingent the pre-ordained results (!) most suited to his purposes." Vol. ii. p. 164.

"Religion, including morality, is no more than well-directed education; and as the basis of all education must be the notion formed respecting the sources of knowledge and sanctions of duty,

the first great education question is the essentially religious one, — how, or upon what principles, is the world governed; or rather, is it governed upon any principle, since observances of prayer and belief in miracle inevitably tend to countenance the idea, that the Divine government is no more than a capricious exercise of grace and favor." Vol. i. p. 33.

Perhaps some of this might do tolerably for a basis of moral philosophy, if the author had not unfortunately "omitted the analysis or interpretation of it." It must be borne in mind that Mr. Mackay does not admit the existence of a personal God, as will immediately appear; and consequently that the "laws" and "principles of government," and "providential pre-arrangements," and "pre-ordained results," of which he speaks, are not moral, but merely physical laws, not dependent upon an intelligent personal will, but merely upon the "assemblage of phenomena." The motto of his "Intellectual Religion" is from Goethe: —

Nach ewigen ehernen
Grossen Gesetzen
Müssen wir alle
Unseres Daseyns
Kreise vollenden.

He elsewhere says, yet more openly,

"The true purport of Christianity was spiritualism or intellectual religion. This, at least, was the aim of its most eminent teachers, of Stephen, of St. Paul, and of Jesus. . . . . Christianity was the 'promised land of the soul,' or life realized; asserting the futility of the misgiving which raised an imaginary barrier between man and God, it effected a reconciliation in the sphere where alone existed the estrangement by neutralizing the phantom of sin within the circle of the human feelings." Vol. ii. p. 517.

Such, then, we are to believe, was the teaching of Stephen, of St. Paul, and of Jesus! That sin is a mere phantom of our own superstitious imaginations, conscience a fallacious misgiving, and all is well and right if we will only think so! And yet we are told about the "sanctions of duty!"

"Miracle, as it must now be understood, implies something inconsistent with the order of a perfect government, something overlooked in the original plan, requiring an interpolation contrary to its general tenor."

But does divine free-agency any more imply interpolation than human? Or is all free-agency, the *specific* action of *will* anywhere, inconsistent with the order of a perfect government, and an original, universal plan?

"It is not incredible that God can raise the dead, for his ability to do so is abundantly evident in nature; it is incredible only that he should do so in a manner inconsistent with his own eternal laws, [that is, miraculously,] and it would have been no irrational inference which should have ascribed an admitted infraction of those laws to Beelzebub, to demoniacal agency instead of to divine." Vol. i. p. 20.

"From the moment when the reality of a divine system of law was manifested to philosophy, the belief in miracle became blasphemous as well as immoral, an imputation on the divine wisdom and goodness."

Thus it will be seen that this modern "manifestation to philosophy" has utterly exploded the divine revelation, and directly reversed the doctrine of blasphemy as laid down by Jesus Christ; and yet it would fain be called Christianity! But let us hear our philosophic enthusiast once more on this point.

"Were miracles really indispensable for religious improvement and consolation, heaven forbid there should be any limits to our credulity, or that we should hesitate for an instant to believe all the exaggerations of oriental expression, or to prefer the wildest dreams of the child or savage to the rash theories of the philosopher. But the hypothesis of miracle has lost its usefulness. . . . . It no longer promotes a spirit of piety. . . . . Addressed to the ignorant and unthinking, it produces no permanent conviction of comprehensive beneficence and wisdom. It substitutes disarrangement and anarchy for certainty and order. . . . . A belief in the miraculous or Messianic character of Jesus was, in his own day, the most decisive test of superiority to vulgar prejudice, and of a disposition to conform to the spiritualism of Christianity. Now, circumstances are reversed. . . . Belief in miracle is worse than useless; it creates false notions of God's nature and government; it arms the imagination against the reason; it discourages the cultivation of the intellect and darkens the path of duty. It demoralizes by superseding prudential care and the feeling of immediate responsibility." Vol. i. pp. 21–23.

How strange, then, that Christendom should have

reached its present unequalled height of civilization and intellectual culture! What a debasing, immoral, and blasphemous thing the Christian religion is, as it was taught by Jesus and his apostles, and as it is embodied in the holy Scriptures! How inimical to the "spirit of piety," and "demoralizing" to human character! And how happy will the world be when once fairly rid of such an incubus!

Our author makes some concessions, it is true; but they only betray the totally subjective character of all his philosophy. If miracles would do him good, Heaven forbid, says he, that he should fail to believe in them. His belief seems to be determined by motives of prudence, by considerations of interest and policy, rather than by proper logical evidence. So easy is his faith that he would believe a lie with all his heart, if he thought it would do him good. If, on the other hand, there is any question of objective truth recognized by him as pertaining to the case, the result would be, according to his theory, that it may have been actually true for a while that Jesus rose from the dead according to the Scriptures, but it has now ceased to be the fact; that it was true, while Jesus lived, that he was the Messiah, but is true no longer. It would seem, however, that the Christian need not despair, for should the modern "manifestation to philosophy" take on some new phase, or simply become so universally disseminated as to be "a vulgar prejudice," it may then become true again that Jesus was the Christ, and that he rose from the dead. Into such self-contradictions does Mr. Mackay fall when he entertains a question of positive fact or of actual truth, and can only juggle with his own subjective conditions.

But if he means really to admit that miracles would not be inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of God, provided they would contribute to the religious improvement of mankind, or of a large portion of them in any age, then it does not appear how he can so dogmatically declare them to be impossible, absurd, and blasphemous. This admission is all that, on this point, is demanded from philosophy by the Christian. And surely, if miracles were actually wrought for the spiritual improvement of some portion of mankind in one age, that fact would

not cease to be a fact to another portion of mankind in another age, even though the latter should have no need of miracles for their spiritual improvement.

Moreover, our author's definition of a miracle is overstrained and unfair, if the personality of God and his universal providence and agency are admitted. For whether, in the course of nature, his efficiency be immediate, or by means of instrumentalities of his own creation and institution, in either case, his power must be the source and basis of all power, his efficiency the necessary and constant condition and substratum of all efficiency. If, then, for wise and benevolent purposes, he usually operates according to a certain order, according to certain laws, so-called; yet it is not to be supposed that those "laws" are intrinsically sacred, have a moral sanction, are obligatory restraints upon his will; but he is at perfect liberty, without any violation of consistency, to operate in an exceptional way, a way not in accordance with his ordinary methods, whenever in his infinite wisdom and benevolence he sees fit. The law of wisdom and benevolence, the moral law, is the supreme and only absolutely unalterable law of God's government, an inconsistency with which is, in itself, irrational and absurd. In short, the physical is subordinate to the moral; while, in our author's theory, the moral is swallowed up and lost in the physical.

It is even doubtful whether he admits a God possessed of any moral character. His language on this point, and in regard to the proper being of God in general, is wavering, confused, and inconsistent; a phenomenon which may perhaps be explained by the difficulty of using the common language of mankind in giving expression to what he regards as the "latest manifestation to philosophy."

"Deity is the last," he writes, "the most comprehensive and obscure of all generalizations." Vol. i. p. 30.

"The old religionists discovered a Universal Cause, personified it, and prayed to it. The mere notion seemed not only to satisfy the religious feeling, but to solve all problems. Nations unanimously subscribed to the pious formula which satisfied their imaginations, and pleased their vanity by cheating them into a belief that they were wise; but which at the same time supplanted

nature by tradition, the sources of truth by artificial disguises, and at last paralyzed the sentiment that gave birth to it. Science, unlike the rude expedient which stupefied without nourishing the mind," &c. Vol. ii. p. 172.

"If, however, the notion of Deity has been advanced beyond personification by philosophy, the notion of a humanly creating God would again become comparatively childish and undignified." Vol. i. p. 72.

"The God of philosophy differs from the God of 'revelation' in being known to be a human conception, while the other is superstitiously confounded with the object." Vol. ii. p. 161.

Yet, though he thus rejects the personality and objective existence of God as a puerile notion, he elsewhere speaks of Him as good, as choosing, as possessed of will, as being a mind, as designing, &c. "In the perfect code of the universe," says he, "pain is never inflicted except to instruct, to correct, or to save, the uses of adversity being most conspicuous in the precision with which they [who or what?] point their moral." How a being can possess the attributes of moral goodness, of choice, will, and intelligence, and can plan and govern a universe with the design of accomplishing certain wise and beneficent results without possessing personality, we must leave for Mr. Mackay and the modern "manifestation to philosophy" to explain.

Is he then a Pantheist? On this subject he is equally confused and contradictory. At one time, he seems to set Pantheism at the highest summit in the religious progress of the Intellect; and, indeed, this must be his view, unless he gives Atheism a still higher place; at another time, he distinctly acknowledges Pantheism to belong to the first and lowest stage of religious development.

"Dæmonology and Polytheism," he says, "were dissimilar, yet concurrent, developments of Pantheism." Vol. ii. p. 100.

"With the consciousness of estrangement arose varied forms of mediation, one of the earliest of which was a metaphysical Pantheism, producing a more or less deliberate return of the self-conscious mind to the serenity of its childhood." Vol. ii. p. 460.

He then proceeds to trace the gradual rise of Polytheism, and finally of Monotheism. At one time, he claims Pantheism as a doctrine of Christianity; at another, he acknowledges the two to be inconsistent.

"We often hear complacent self-congratulations on the recognition of a personal God, as being the conception most suited to human sympathies, and exempt from the mystifications of Pantheism. But the divinity remains still a mystery notwithstanding all the devices which symbolism, either from the organic or inorganic creation, can supply, and personification is a symbol liable to misapprehension as much, if not more so, than any other, since it is apt to degenerate into a mere reflection of our own infirmities. . . . . Objections to Pantheism not only imply ignorance on the part of the Christian objector as to the nature of his own creed (comp. Acts xvii. 28) but as to the point in dispute." Vol. i. p. 150.

"Though the personifying tendency is essentially opposed to Pantheism, both elements are usually found united, since Pantheism rigorously carried out would make religion impossible. For religion is but the feeling and practice suited to a certain theoretical relation between man and God; and the confounding man and God in the universality of nature would overthrow all acts and relations arising from the presumption of their severance." Vol. ii. p. 16.

Is it not here admitted to be an essential trait of Pantheism "to confound man and God in the universality of nature?" Is not such Pantheism confessed to be incompatible with all religion? How, then, is it to be maintained as an essential element of the Christian religion, so that all those poor Christian souls who reject it as utterly fatal to their religion are chargeable with stupidity and sheer ignorance? If Mr. Mackay means that a personal God, as he uses the phrase, implies a corporeal or visible object of the imagination, circumscribed in space; and if he means that Pantheism is not an absolute and unadulterated falsehood, and does not reject and exclude all truth whatever, but coincides with Theism, in the doctrines of the divine omnipresence and omnipotence, for example, then he should have plainly said so, and he might have amused himself in knocking down his own men of straw at his leisure. There is, no doubt, some common ground between Theism and Pantheism; but the terms should be used distinctively, not confusedly. By Pantheism, we suppose a man to mean Pantheism, — Pantheism as a system, as a whole; and by Theism, to mean Theism as it is, and as it is understood by those who profess it. If he means otherwise, he should give his definitions, or employ other terms.

On the doctrine of immortality, compare the following paragraphs.

"While the speculative Pantheist assumes an ocean of spirituality, out of which life and consciousness are unceasingly evolved, and to which they return, the sensuous are unable to appreciate any state of existence beyond the limits of a contracted individuality, as their God also is a 'person,' who must be personally communicated with." Vol. ii. p. 290.

"The belief in immortality is rather a natural feeling, an adjunct of self-consciousness, than a dogma belonging to any age or country. And if any doctrine may be truly said to be inspired or divine, surely it is that which gives eternity to man's nature; which reconciles its seeming anomalies and contradictions; which makes him strong in weakness, perfectible in imperfection; which alone gives an adequate object to his hopes and energies, and value and dignity to his pursuits. The belief in the soul's immortality is concurrent with that in an infinite, external spirit, since it is chiefly through consciousness of the dignity of the mind within us that we learn to appreciate its evidences in the universe." Vol. ii. p. 282.

Why was not this beautiful strain of reasoning pursued to its legitimate results, until it had banished all the author's pantheistic reveries and idle talk about the absurdity of miracles and the stupidity of prayer? Was this honestly said, in full consciousness of its meaning, or was it thrown out as a mere bait to the inconsiderate, "sensuous" reader; or was it only an involuntary and unconscious outburst of the voice of nature, in spite of all the theories of the philosopher? We cannot tell.

We were well aware that many of the leading philosophers and so-called theologians of Germany had agreed to maintain the absolute impossibility of miracles, to deny the personality of God, to hold a *quasi* theology, vibrating between Pantheism and Atheism, and to transfer into the mists of transcendentalism, or utterly to annul, the immortality of the soul. By a glaring inconsistency, our author having, with a most childlike trustfulness, followed them through all the rest, on this last point, at least, in some happier moments, abandons their company. After Strauss's mythical neology had made itself the grave of positive Christianity and of a personal God, it culminated, at last, in being the grave of immortality.

He closed his great book on Christian Doctrine with the demoniacally triumphant exclamation, that "the last enemy to be destroyed is *Das Jenseits*, — whatever lies beyond the bounds of sensible existence and present experience." While Mr. Mackay freely deals out to us the skepticism, ribaldry, and blasphemy of Strauss, in regard to the Holy Scriptures, and on almost all other points, he momentarily, at least, dissents from him on this. Let him have the full credit of it.

What work a man must make with the development of the religious idea among the Hebrews, coming to his task with such views as those above exhibited, it is not difficult to anticipate. If any one believes the conception of a personal or a creating God puerile; prayer and worship an enervating, degrading service; miracles impossible, and belief in them useless, and worse than useless, nay, impious and blasphemous; — of course, he can have no great sympathy, and he must exercise a most commendable degree of self-control if he can have any great patience, with the histories and biographies, the events and personages, the wonders and prophecies, of the Bible. If, instead of calling them lies and barefaced forgeries, he treats them as myths and well-meant allegories, he may take great credit for his candor and forbearance. He need not trouble himself about external evidences. He has settled the whole matter *a priori*. It is impossible the Scriptures should be truly a "revelation;" for the plain reason, that no revelation whatever is possible. Such is the method of a class of philosophical critics, who profess to come to their work of destruction without any prejudices or assumptions. Such is the principle with which they proceed to break down all the carved work of the temple of Christian truth, and to defile the Divine dwelling-place by casting it to the ground. But if the instrument they wield is not *begged*, they can only answer, as the man to the prophet, "Alas, master! for it was *borrowed*."

In applying his begged or borrowed principle to the Hebrew Scriptures, our author does not always restrain himself within the bounds of that patronizing indulgence, which he seems to have prescribed to himself as a general rule. The scoffs of Paine and the mockery of Vol-

taire are too often mingled with the stereotyped objections of the old English Deists, and the newly-vamped forms in which, with a bristling array of circulating, critical erudition, and great pomp and circumstance of philosophical pretension, the same objections are reproduced by the modern school of German infidels. It is quite amusing to see with what *naïveté* all these things are retailed by Mr. Mackay, as if he were in blissful ignorance of their ever having been said (in English) before; yet as if they were now, at length, established facts, which no man in his senses, provided he had any senses worth mentioning to be in, would think of disputing; or as if they were oracular revelations from the tripod, which all to whose ears they should come would drink in with humble faith and stupid admiration.

Mr. Mackay does not condescend to reason. No; he prophesies till the going down of the sun. He takes for granted, and assumes, and insinuates, and suggests, and implies, asserts and reasserts, and concludes he is right, of course. We are to receive the whole on his authority. Yet not exactly so; for his pages are laden, to an almost unparalleled extent, with references to other authorities, ancient and modern, oriental and occidental, sacred and profane, pertinent and impertinent. One stands perfectly aghast at his immense erudition. But, alas! the fallacy of references is equalled only by the fallacy of statistics. How easy it is, by a certain plodding process, to accumulate huge masses of references, especially when nine tenths of them may be borrowed with so great facility, is notorious to all who have any considerable experience of authors and books. Indeed, whether considered as an indication of an author's ability and learning, or as a confirmation of his statements, they are equally deceptive and unsatisfactory. They are much more likely to be resorted to by the special pleader, by the pedantic and paradoxical, than by simple truth, sound logic, or real learning. At all events, they prove nothing until they have been traced to their sources, verified, and fairly estimated.

Although there are some novel suggestions and theories in Mr. Mackay's book, which, as will be seen further on, are not of a character to procure for his name a very

enviable reputation, yet there is scarcely a fact or difficulty, of any tangible importance, stated in the whole two volumes, which had not been stated and answered over and over again; almost all of them having been urged by the most notorious of the infidel and Deistical writers, and recognized and replied to in the most familiar treatises on the Christian Evidences and Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures. His gravely assumed objections have not only been slain, but buried. He has brought their ghosts upon the stage again, in mythical German costume. That is all. What should we gain by attempting to slay them over again? There is nothing left in them substantial enough for solid weapons to do execution upon. There is scarcely enough of tangible ratiocination, in all this portion of Mr. Mackay's work, to steady or check the motion of a counter-argument. The only result would be, to wrench the arm of the assailant. If one deals with it at all, he must deal with it in pure detail, following it from point to point. It has no development, no deduction, no unity, no progress. It is one steady, monotonous step by step. It is a *rudis indigestaque moles*, — a monstrous induction of independent assumptions.

Yet having undertaken to present to our readers a review of Mr. Mackay's book, and having stated the general philosophical basis on which we understand his Biblical criticisms to rest, we shall proceed to select, almost at random, certain points in those criticisms, as further specimens of the character of the work.

"As proof of the puerility of the Jews, in their notions of literary criticism," he says, "it is only necessary to recollect that the book of Enoch, an evident imitation of Daniel, written under Herod the Great, [so Gfrörer and Mr. Mackay say, two witnesses, *ipsi dixerunt*,] is seriously quoted by the Apostle Jude, as composed by 'the seventh from Adam.'" Vol. i. p. 13.

As though Messrs. Gfrörer and Mackay had positively ascertained that St. Jude could not have had access to the same traditions from which the author of the book of Enoch drew his materials; or as though no such traditions, if they existed, could possibly be true, though confirmed by divine inspiration; or, finally, as though the insertion of any thing in the book of Enoch must necessarily

make it false; so that, to repeat any thing whatever contained in it must, of course, be to retail a lie! And this he calls "literary criticism!"

"The heavenly host," that is, the sun, moon, planets, and stars, — which, according to him, we may suppose were the Elohim, — "were appointed or divided," he says, "by Jehovah himself, as permissible *objects of worship* among the nations;" and he cites Deut. iv. 19, in proof. Alas for the maturity of "literary criticism!" Truly the man must be sinking; he catches, not at straws, but at the optical illusions of straws. The fatuity of his interpretation is, if possible, enhanced by the consideration that, for his part, he holds the book of Deuteronomy to be a late production, got up by the returned Babylonish exiles, who, as he admits, held all idolatry in detestation. Elsewhere, he makes the God of the Hebrews himself, Jehovah Elohim of Hosts, to be, literally, at one time, the sun, like Osiris; at another, the planet Saturn, Chiun, Moloch, fortifying himself by a gross perversion of Amos v. 26; and, finally, to be a mere stone, — yes, a proper, bodily stone, a downright, visible, solid stone. (pp. 123, 137.) This last is a favorite notion of his, which he develops at large, and to which he frequently recurs. The God whom Jacob worshipped was literally and properly the very stone he laid his head upon. So Mr. Mackay expressly says. And, by the same rule, it might be shown that the same Jehovah was a literal shield and buckler, and castle and fortress, &c.; and this is what is called "literary criticism."

"The pattern which Moses saw in the mount," he asserts, on the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is directly in the teeth of his assumption — confirmed by reference to Josephus and the Book of Wisdom, whose statements, even if they were much clearer than they are, would be little to the purpose; to Nork's Dictionary, a high authority doubtless, but which we have not had the pleasure of seeing; and finally, to a passage in Creutzer's *Symbolik*, which contains not one syllable on the subject — "these images of heavenly things," he roundly asserts, "were an attempt to express the religion of the universe by a mimicry of its elements and architecture." And withal, he is quite scandalized at the idea of the "grotesque cherubim." p. 139.

"The garden of the Lord, like the Paradise of Semiramis," says he, "is planted with every pleasant and useful tree ; among them there is the 'tree of life,' that obvious symbol met with in almost all mythologies, and familiar in Scandinavia as in India. The tree of life was a common Oriental emblem of the Spirit of Nature. The allegorical mantle of Zeus, on which were painted earth and ocean, was said to have been spread over an oak, *like* the 'stretched out' heavens of the Hebrew prophet, the true tabernacle of which Jehovah on his holy mountain was himself the prop." p. 416.

For proof that Jehovah thus performs the office of Atlas, we are gravely referred to Ex. xxvi. 30, and xxxiii. 9. Those two passages read as follows:

"And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which was showed thee in the mount. . . . . And it came to pass as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and (he) talked with Moses." [comp. Ps. lcix. 7 : "He spake to them in the cloudy pillar."]

Therefore, Jehovah is the "prop" that supports the canopy of heaven! We know not whether most to admire the logic, or the "literary criticism." Of course, he was too honest (?) to quote the passages to which he refers. If all his innumerable references are equally pertinent, they must prove a great deal.

The story of the miraculous conception affords an opportunity for infidel sneers, ribald innuendoes, and degrading comparisons, of which, of course, he could not fail to take advantage. Having told the stories of Minerva, Horus, Bacchus ; of Apis, Roostem, Buddha ; of Fo and Shing-Moo ; of Confucius and Murcius ; of Simon Magus, Zenghis Khan, Zoroaster, &c.; he concludes that "the unfounded charge [generous and candid admission!] of adultery against Mary, invented by certain Jews, according to the saying '*Multi nomine Divorum thalamos iniere pudicos*,' may be regarded as a just retribution for the story of the supernatural conception." Vol. ii. p. 348.

We will here take occasion, once for all, to call attention to the general theory or method which is involved in the statements above recited, and which underlies and pervades Mr. Mackay's whole work. His "literary criti-

cism" does not proceed by examining the positive, external, historical evidence bearing upon alleged facts, and thus deducing his conclusions. By no means. That were quite beneath the lofty flight of his mythical philosophy. Rather he reasons thus, if he may be supposed to condescend to reason at all: — The moment any traditions, or imitations, of the true religion, though so distant and far-fetched as the allegorical mantle of Zeus compared with the stretched-out heavens of Isaiah, are found in any heathen mythology or false religion, immediately there is no true religion. If the heathen have ascribed to their gods, acknowledged to be false, any attributes or actions which the Scriptures ascribe to Him whom they allege to be the true God, it follows that He is as false as the rest, and all such stories are equally fabulous. Miraculous works and manifestations have been mythically ascribed to heathen deities; therefore, all so-called revelations and stories of miracles are, without further examination, to be consigned to the common mass of mythical rubbish. If men have generally expected and anticipated a manifestation of deity in humanity, — whether guided by primeval tradition or by a sort of universal natural instinct; and by one or the other, it would seem they must have been guided, — the very fact that such an anticipation is natural and almost universal, proves that no such manifestation was ever made, or can ever be credible to a sound and rational human mind. In short, since falsehood can mimic the truth, there is and can be no truth at all. Thus is this boasted mythical theory ingulfed in the bottomless pit of absolute skepticism. The same principle may be applied to history in general, as well as to religion. History began in fable, and has been imitated by fiction all along; therefore all history is fabulous and fictitious. Especially must this be true of all extraordinary and unique historical events and personages. For, it must be remembered that external evidence, and all discrimination based upon it, are quite ignored. We may expect, ere long, from this mythico-historical school, in addition to the monographic essays which they have already produced, a universal history on a purely subjective method, constructed on strictly *a priori* principles, and evolved according to certain presupposed laws of

necessary development. We shall then know where we came from.

"The system of divine revelation," says Mr. Mackay, "appeared to a Bible writer to have been the reverse of that uniformity and consistency which most rational persons would now be inclined to ascribe to the Supreme Being. He speaks of it as having been of 'many parts and divers fashions,' varied according to place or occasion." Vol. ii. p. 177.

We know not what sort of "uniformity and consistency most rational persons would," in our author's opinion, "be inclined to ascribe to the Supreme Being." But we will note, first, that he seems to imply that most rational persons recognize a "Supreme Being;" — "Being," observe, not a mere subjective conception, nor a mere *modus operandi sine operante.* In the second place, we cannot help thinking, at the risk of being set down in certain quarters as quite behind the age, that, considering the manifold combinations, the boundless variety, the wonderfully diversified adaptations, which characterize the works of the Creator around us to such a degree that, not to speak of the almost interminable division into kingdoms, orders, classes, genera, species, sub-species, and varieties, scarcely two individuals are to be found perfectly alike, — most rational persons would be led to the conclusion that, provided God should condescend to make a revelation of his will to man from time to time, he would adapt its divers fashions to different places and occasions. Animals and vegetables, and different species of animals, are provided with very different kinds of apparatus for breathing the air, and for taking and assimilating their food; and the machinery for locomotion, for earth, air, and water, is not all contrived on the same specific model. In all their diversities, there is an admirable adaptation to circumstances, to various places and occasions; while the same general plan of structure is adhered to throughout. If, then, God were to make a revelation to man, we should be led by the analogy of nature to expect that it would be adapted to man's constitution, character, and circumstances, — would be diversified according to the exigencies of his mental and moral condition. If it were made in the form of language, for example, it would be conveyed in the language which those addressed by it could understand.

Such would seem to us, in our simplicity, to be the natural and rational conclusion. And this conclusion is confirmed by reference to the course of general history, and to the laws which govern the development of the human mind and of human society; which are all, it is to be presumed, included in the universal plan of the Supreme Being. But we add finally, that, if a man has made out *a priori*, or assumed *e nihilo*, that all revelation whatever is absurd and impossible, then he only trifles in suggesting specific difficulties, which, if removed, make the case no better.

The Hebrew theory of retribution, *à la Mackay*, is as follows: — Under the Theocracy, only temporal rewards and punishments were proposed; afterwards, these being found to be a mere hoax, the prophets reversed the theory, and began to speak of the prosperity of the wicked; hence the phrases, "men of the world," men who "have their portion in this life," and the denunciation of "woe to the rich," but "blessed are the poor," in the New Testament. This is the way to make one portion of Scripture contradict, instead of completing and explaining, another.

The age of Ecclesiastes is coolly assumed to have been that of the later Persian satraps. He does not deem it necessary to give any authority whatever for the assumption. He then proceeds, as coolly, to expound the philosophy of the book after his own views; concluding, with Ewald, on the whole, that the upshot of Ecclesiastes was, a premature attempt to introduce a revolution, recapitulating and rationalizing the old religion, which was successfully made only by Christianity.

Mr. Mackay asserts that Eloah, (God,) in the book of Job, by his definitive sentence, pronounces rash and inconclusive those explanations of the Divine Government in allowing the virtuous to suffer, which, according to him, are contained in Matt. ix. 2; Deut. viii. 5; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Prov. iii. 11, 12; Isa. xlviii. 10; liii. 10, and Hab. i. 12; and which are adopted in the arguments of some of Job's friends. Of course, with the aid of "literary criticism," and especially of the patent illuminator of an *a priori* rejection of all revelation, he does not deem it rash to presume to understand the statements of Eloah in the book of Job better than their Author himself, even

though *he* may have given his own explanations elsewhere. The only infallible authority is Mr. Mackay, and whatever he asserts no rational man can doubt to be true!

Having thus fairly got possession of the seat of infallibility, he hesitates not to pronounce that the doctrine of the New Testament on this subject of retribution, in the present and in the future world, is a "system of mere guesswork," "a superstitious and monstrous fiction;" and that, notwithstanding the compliment which, with Ewald, he had just paid to Christianity at the expense of Ecclesiastes.

He states that the moon and stars bowed down to Joseph, (he inadvertently omits the sun,) and the eleven sheaves made obeisance to him; as though it were stated in Scripture as a fact, and not as a dream. He then adds, in a note, that Joseph is son of the sun according to Jacob's own interpretation, Gen. xxxvii. 10. That is to say, if the sun is, in a dream, made to represent Jacob, then Jacob represents the sun, and Joseph is son of the sun! All which is to show, that Joseph was a mythical personage, equivalent to Phœbus or Helios; which he would further confirm by the fact that Joseph married the daughter of the high-priest of On, Heliopolis, Ain Shemesh, or fountain of the sun, adding that it is well known how often, in mythology, the priest is substituted for the god! Such is the most approved method of transmuting the simplest and plainest narrative into a myth.

In the development of the doctrine of a future state among the Hebrews, he makes a certain "phraseology" give rise to the stories of Enoch and Elijah, and "prepare the way for the adoption of higher conceptions, so soon as man should become deliberately conscious of his own dignity." So, according to him, words come first and conceptions afterwards. We had supposed that the contrary was usually the historical order; this seems to be the mythical. At all events, certain conceptions came undeniably to exist; and the problem was how, without divine revelation, to account for them. The mythical account is, they grew out of certain phrases. Whence the phrases came does not appear, except, like the atheist's world, by pure chance.

He proceeds to say that the contact of Zoroastrian

opinions may have subsequently favored the development of Hebrew conceptions of a future state, though it did not originate them; and adds, that "the accounts of persons supposed to have been recalled to life by the prophets *must* have been recorded about this time (during the Captivity) and could scarcely have been tolerated, had there not been an impression of a bodily revival." Such are his methods of verifying facts, and of determining the age of any particular portions of the Bible.

He considers Isaiah a mere generic appellation, and the book so entitled a modern collection of anonymous effusions, a sort of Hebrew Anthology. In this he follows the German neological critics with more unhesitating confidence than any English scholar ever showed for Wolff's theory of an aggregate Homer; a theory which, though once so rife, is happily now nearly exploded. He does not seem to know that any other view of Isaiah anywhere exists. But it is observable that he assigns Isa. xxvi. 14 to the times of the Captivity, as well as Isa. xl. 66; thus indirectly surrendering the only plausible evidence for a duplicate Isaiah which was ever alleged, — that drawn from the diversity of style between the first thirty-nine chapters and the remainder of the book. He very cavalierly disposes of the "Pseudo-Daniel" as an "unknown writer;" declares the hope of Socrates vastly superior to that of the Hebrew prophets; and the New Testament interpretations of prophecy to be superstitious.

He draws out a long parallel between the history of Moses and that of Jesus. He acknowledges that the idea of types and of typical personages was familiar to the Hebrew mind, and is fully recognized in the New Testament; but, instead of allowing this to be a source of evidence for the Messiahship of Jesus, he would wrest it in quite the contrary direction. The history of Jesus resembles in many points that of Moses; therefore, says he, it is a counterfeit. Here, again, we meet one of the strongholds of the mythical interpretation. But why do they not pretend that the history of Moses was got up to suit that of Jesus? When history and historical evidence are ignored altogether, we can arrange matters entirely at our *a priori* pleasure. Whence came the story of Moses?

They answer, it was a legend. Who invented the legend, and established the institutions connected with it, and made a whole nation believe that the legend was true, and that they and their fathers had observed those very institutions from the time assigned for their origin? Why, those exiles who returned from the Babylonish captivity. Whether it were they, or whoever it was, it was certainly a remarkable instance of universal agreement in self-delusion and self-stultification. But, say they, the story of Moses existed, and that of Jesus, resembling it, was copied after it, as a matter of course. We might still ask, in reply, considering the long antecedently existing Messianic anticipations of the Jews, and considering that this is a matter of mere imagination, of mere myth-manufacture, of mere fabrication, how happens it that the copy was never got up, before or since, in such a manner as to make any permanent claims on the faith of this same Jewish people? And how happened it that those multitudes of them who rejected the Messiahship of Jesus did not expose and explode the counterfeit story on the spot? How did it escape being strangled at its very birth? Perhaps some sort of lame mythical answer can be given to these questions. But it is useless to reason with our mythologists, who seem to assume that myths may grow up in the Augustan age, and amidst intelligent, eagle-eyed, violent adversaries, as well as in the misty twilight of ante-historical periods. The truth is, the direct and indirect historical evidence of the authenticity and proper historical character of our Four Gospels is stronger than such evidence in the case of almost any other book of that age. It has never been rebutted by the mythologists, and never can be, except by their *a priori* fancies. The mass of evidence collected by Lardner, or even the mere compend of it given by Paley, is abundantly sufficient to overwhelm all Mr. Mackay's mythical suggestions and positive assertions, though supported by the insinuations, and assumptions, and theories, and "plausible reasonings" of Strauss, and Gfrörer, and Ghillany, and their entire school.

Our author applies the same mythical hypothesis to account for the story of the day of Pentecost. The speaking with tongues he declares to have been a mere ut-

tering of unintelligible and unmeaning sounds; as though anybody needed any extraordinary influence of the Holy Spirit to exercise such a gift. Simon Magus might certainly have saved his money, if this were all. He says that Paul, with all his speaking of tongues, (for which, by the way, Paul thought fit to thank God, as though it were something more than a faculty of jabbering gibberish,) nevertheless could not speak Lycaonian; in proof of which he refers to Acts xiv. 11, 14. How his point is proved by a comparison of these verses, we cannot divine, unless it is by the rule of contraries. At all events, if he will read a little further on, he will find a speech which Paul and Barnabas made to the Lycaonians, and which, it would seem, the Lycaonians understood; and consequently, if the Apostles did not use the Lycaonian speech, it was not because they could not, but because there was no need of it. But perhaps Mr. Mackay may have had an interview with some of those old Lycaonians, by the aid of Animal Magnetism, Spiritual Knockings, or some such "manifestation," and thus learned the fact which he so positively states.

In the case of Jephthah's daughter (Vol. ii. p. 432,) we thought at first that Mr. Mackay had raised a new difficulty. He states the case thus:—"The religious vow too had its dark and its bright side; there was the simple dedication, and the 'Cherem' or vow of extermination, through which Jephthah purchased victory by devoting to Jehovah (or to death) not whatsoever, but whosoever should first issue from the door of his house on his return." "The words of Jephthah," he adds in a note, "are a commentary on the law of the first-born in Exodus; the object, he declares, shall be Jehovah's; that is, he explains, I will offer it up for a burnt-offering. 'No Cherem,' says the law, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, 'which a man devotes as Cherem to Jehovah, of all which is his, either of man and beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be redeemed; every devoted thing is most holy to Jehovah. None devoted which shall be devoted by men shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death.'"

Here an effort is plainly made to leave the impression that the law, in the first place, recognized the right and the propriety of Jephthah's making a vow ("Cherem")

which might include his own daughter in its application; and, then, positively and peremptorily required him, having made his daughter "Cherem," to put her to death by offering her as a burnt-offering to Jehovah. And this view is to be still further confirmed by reference to the "law of the first-born in Exodus." Thus, all who would believe the divine legation of Moses and the divine origin of his laws are to be driven to the awful conclusion, that God actually recognized, nay instituted and peremptorily commanded, the offering of human sacrifices. But how stands the case? In the first place, the law of the first-born in Exodus expressly and repeatedly requires that the first-born of man, the first-born among children, shall not be offered in sacrifice, but shall be redeemed. And in the very chapter of Leviticus from which the law of the "Cherem" is quoted, it is expressly provided that "if any man shall make a singular vow, the *persons* shall be Jehovah's by *estimation;*" and then are given in detail the estimations at which the several ages of males and females should be redeemed. Moreover, the law expressly forbids the sacrifice of children, and denominates it an abomination to the Lord; it prescribes what animals, and what only, should be offered to the Lord, and declares to be unclean the priest or any man who should have so much as touched the dead body either of a man or of an unclean beast; so that no person could possibly offer a man or an unclean beast in sacrifice without a violation of this law. In the second place, *the vow of Jephthah is not described in the book of Judges as "Cherem,"* and therefore does not come under the injunctions of the law in Levit. xxvii. 28, 29, cited above; but it was "Neder," or what is called "a singular vow," in the first verse of the same chapter; and, therefore, in legal strictness, should have come under the provisions there made for redemption by estimation. This is *the* essential point in Mr. Mackay's argument; and his calling the vow of Jephthah "Cherem" is either a wilful and dishonest perversion of Scripture, or an unpardonable oversight in so grave a matter; unless, perhaps, it may be explained by the fact that, in his acknowledged ignorance of the oriental languages, he was obliged to take this statement at second-hand, and if so, it only shows how little reliance can be placed on his

guides or on those who follow them. It may be added here, that if Jephthah's vow had been "Cherem," it would have been self-contradictory, unless we read, as some have proposed, "*or*" instead of "*and* I will offer it a burnt-offering;" as no "Cherem," when it concerned men or unclean beasts, was to be offered in sacrifice; the "Cherem" being properly a *curse*, or vow of utter extermination. In the third place, it is not incumbent on us to explain the history of Jephthah's vow, or to decide the question about the manner of its actual execution. Besides the point just referred to, Mr. Mackay has brought forward nothing new upon the subject. Treatises and commentaries in abundance, by the most learned linguists and critics, are accessible to all our readers; enough to prevent us, and, we should have supposed, enough to have prevented Mr. Mackay, from dogmatizing in the case. What we have proposed to do, is simply to show that, if Jephthah sacrificed his daughter, it was not only not in obedience to, but in direct and manifest violation of, the law of Moses. And, on such a supposition, all that need further be said to relieve the mind of a believer in divine revelation is, that neither the statement that the spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah, nor the allusion to his faith made in the New Testament, can be construed into a sentence of divine approval or justification of all his conduct, — any more, at least, than similar statements in the cases of Samson and of many others.

Mr. Mackay frequently repeats the stale sneers of infidelity and atheism at the "sacrifice of Isaac;" and, it being his object (as at p. 414, Vol. ii.) to show that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob required and accepted human sacrifices, he begins by saying that "it must be *assumed* that the Deity who prohibits the offering of human sacrifices under pain of death was, even if known in name, unknown in nature to the patriarch who believed in the authenticity of a divine command to *murder his son.* The compilers of the Sacred Books, indeed, found it necessary to make the commencement of idolatry contemporaneous with the Judges," &c. Now the story of Abraham and Isaac has been familiar to the minds of Jews and Christians from the earliest times to this day; and even Mr. Mackay cannot pretend to have discovered

any new facts in connection with it, tending to show or enhance its alleged shocking and impious nature. Yet the most gentle, pious, and polished minds in Christendom have neither felt nor found any thing shocking or impious in it. It has been reserved for such men as Morgan, Paine, Voltaire, and the philosophers of that Illumination which shone forth in all its practical splendor in the fiery scenes of the Old French Revolution, and for the later reflections and echoes of that school of philosophy among the infidels of Germany and their followers, — to be disgusted and horrified at the idea of that ancient scene of sublime faith and holy obedience. It is to be observed, also, that a general principle in the author's treatment of the Scriptures is betrayed in the foregoing quotation. He capriciously assumes any statement of fact contained in them to be authentic, particularly if he thinks he can make it the means of vilifying the God of revelation; and then, instead of admitting the explanations which other portions of Scripture might furnish of the case assumed, he simply proceeds, apparently on the *a priori* principles of his borrowed theory, or without any rhyme or reason at all, to brand all such explanatory portions as interpolated fabrications.

Thus, the story of Abraham and Isaac is assumed as undoubted historical fact, while "the compilers of the Sacred Books" are represented as having constructed the history till the time of the Judges, not on the basis of truth and fact, but with a view to certain political and ecclesiastical ends, — that is, in sublimated Teutonic phrase, to have invented myths, or in plain English, to have palmed forgeries upon their countrymen. Our author has nowhere undertaken to state plainly and connectedly what parts of Scripture are authentic statements of fact, and what parts are fiction; nor has he anywhere given his positive reasons and demonstrative evidences for the truth of the theory on which he proceeds. Indeed, one hardly knows how to answer such statements as his otherwise than by a flat and simple contradiction. So lawless is his caprice that he even contradicts himself. Thus, in his statement about idolatry being first recognized in the book of Judges, he forgets the story of the golden calf, which he himself afterwards treats as authentic.

"We are misled by imagining the Hebrew God to have been throughout, what he appears later, a Being elevated above nature, whose physical aspect is absorbed in his political, tutelar, or moral character. There is no reason for thinking that he whom the Bible itself confounds with the God of Pharaoh, the God of Carmel, and the Midianitish Deity of Horeb, (!) who deferred to other gods so far as to acknowledge their existence and to be jealous of them, who dealt alternately fortune and fear, bread and extermination, differed originally from the object of the nature-worship commonly prevailing in Arabia, Palestine and Phenicia. . . . . The patriarch who pleased God by an act afterwards denounced as abomination must have been a follower of this cruel power El or Ilus, whose peculiar characteristic was to sacrifice or devour his own children. . . . . The same acts and the same conception applied to Jehovah as to Baal. Self-mutilation was a part of the ritual of both. [This last is to be proved by referring to 1 Kings xviii. 28; Jer. xli. 5; Isa. lvi. 4; and Matt. xix. 12.!] There is no substantial reason why the great Syrian deity seated on the bull, should not be compared with Jehovah placed in the same posture, or figured under the same symbol [where?] especially when we know that the feast days of Baal were the same as Jehovah's; Hos. ii.: 11, 12, 16, 17 (!), and that Jehovah's priests, with the fanatical Jehu at their head, were not only idolaters, but murderers and robbers. Both deities were symbolized by the sun; Jehovah's continuing help was assured by continuance of day, or arrived with the heat of noon."

He refers in proof to Ex. xvii. 12, and Josh. x. 14. That is, because the hands of Moses were steady till sunset, and because the sun stood still in its course at the command of Joshua, therefore Jehovah is symbolized by the sun, is the sun, is Baal! This is a favorite theme and argument with our author; to which, as to many others of his blasphemous assumptions, he seeks to give the air of plausibility, and, indeed, of general acceptation, by positive assertions and frequent repetitions. He proceeds, by equally solid arguments, to identify Jehovah with Moloch, with Uranus, with Saturn, — "the Saturn who caused a man to be stoned for gathering sticks on his day of rest!" that is, on Saturday; — and by a similar etymological argument, it could be demonstrated that Christians now worship the sun; — with Dionysus, with Orcus, with "Erebus or phantom of darkness, as in the wrestling with Jacob and in Abraham's vision." A note is here added.

"God says to Israel, whose name is explained by the legend, 'let me go for the day breaketh.' So the dæmon Rakshakas of the Mahabrahata are powerful only in the dark, and the shuddering horses of Mephistopheles dread the morning." . . . . "Jehovah was by no means indifferent to the quantity or quality of his food; he required the choicest morsels, the fat and the blood; he spoke with bitterness of the savory food taken from him to be given to rivals. . . . . The Jehovah of Aaron and of Samaria was worshipped under the same symbol and with the same rites. . . . . Jehovah-worship appears under two forms: the idolatrous taught by Aaron, of which the Israelitish calf-worship was but a continuation, and the orthodox reformed religion without image or similitude appearing in Deuteronomy, but which it is impossible to agree with the later Jews in considering as Mosaic."

Why not? Silence alone answers. Was the real Mosaic religion, then, idolatrous? Mr. Mackay himself, we believe, admits the Decalogue to be possibly Mosaic. Is the Decalogue idolatrous or orthodox? But "Ghillany argues plausibly," and "the being who ate blood and fat, and enjoyed the sweet savour of his sacrifices, was *not likely* to have presented a mere mysterious blank to his sensuous adorers amidst the complicated symbolism of the appointed place of meeting with him." Therefore, the whole current of the Hebrew Scriptures and of Jewish tradition to the contrary notwithstanding, for such good and sufficient reasons, Jehovah was worshipped as an idol in the holy of holies, in the temple, and on high places; and the religion of Moses was idolatry!

Moreover "Jehovah's altar was furnished at the corners with the horns of the *calf-idol;* reminding us [whom?] of those hollow Moloch images of Phenicia forming kilns or furnaces into which the victim was thrown. . . . . The tabernacle and golden candlestick, those images and representations of 'heavenly things,' of which, if the candlestick lighted each evening counterfeited the planets, and the tabernacle the universe, the altar would be the all-devouring power or Saturn residing in it. Atonement was made *to it* — offered *to it* daily — while the Jehovah of the holy of holies required it only once a year. . . . . It was *probably* a brazen machine of this kind, uniting the conception of altar and God, before which Solomon stretched forth his hands at the consecration of the temple, addressing it as Jehovah. [And saying, "behold the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house which I have built!!"] . . . . The neigh-

borhood of the altar was as formidable to life as that of the flaming mountain made by the divine presence to 'smoke as a furnace,' and so converted into a gigantic Moloch image which to approach or touch was death. If superstition may be said to have reached its climax when, overcoming the most powerful of human feelings, it brought the infatuated parent to kiss the bull-headed instrument of infanticide, [that is, he would seem to say, the altar of Jehovah; and then adduces in proof, Hos. xiii. 2; and 1 Kings xix. 18; where, upon reference, any reader will find that the worship of Baalim is spoken of, and denounced as abominable and destructive idolatry,] it is not astonishing that one Hebrew mother should have ventured to strike the guilty altar with her slipper, saying, 'Wolf! how long wilt thou continue to devour the treasure of Israel's children!!" Vol. ii. pp. 414–429.

"Jehovah's aspect was death; his password, 'destruction;' his breath, the consuming fire of Tophet. He was emphatically the Terrific God, nay Terror personified. No one but the priest dared approach within 2000 cubits of the place of his *fancied* presence." And so on for pages. "The sanguinary principle, sanctioned by the example of Abraham, extends through *the whole of Hebrew ritual and practice.* The oft-recurring phrase, the being hung, or 'dying before the Lord,' *evidently* means a sacrifice or religious act of atonement. The wholesale murders of Shittim and Gibeah, like the similar individual acts performed not in reference to a foreign idol, but under the immediate influence of the spirit of Jehovah, were strictly sacrifices to a Moloch whose plague ceased only on consummation of the rite. The calf-worship at Horeb is said to have been signalized by the sacrificial massacre of 3000 people. [Why "sacrificial?" was the calf-worship the worship of the true Jehovah? was not the "reformed religion" introduced ages afterwards?] On this occasion, the Levites were authorized to be the executioners of a 'Cherem,' the form in which men were allowed to sacrifice themselves or any member of their families by a voluntary vow. [But in the first place, there is no "Cherem," nor any vow of any sort, referred to in this case at Horeb; and in the second place the law of "Cherem" which he cites, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, does not authorize men to sacrifice themselves or any member of their families. He then cites Ex. xxxii. 29, which, even with his own forced interpretation, is nothing to his purpose; and proceeds:] The slaughter represented as a punishment, for worshipping the calf is more *probably* (?) part of the calf-worship, that is a Moloch offering. (!!) The act which in Abraham's case was only purposed is here completed, and the issue in both cases is explained to be a blessing proportioned to its importance."

That is to say, the execution of criminals is a human sacrifice offered to Jehovah Moloch!! And this practice, he says, was regularly authorized as a standing law; in proof of which he cites Deut. xiii. 13–16. It is there commanded that the inhabitants of an apostate, idolatrous city shall, after due investigation made, be smitten with the edge of the sword, and the city and all that is therein made "Cherem;" and, because it is added that the spoil should be gathered into the midst of it, and that both city and spoil should (according to his translation) "be burnt with fire *as a burnt-offering* to Jehovah," it is straightway inferred that here a wholesale human sacrifice to Moloch is commanded. Whereas the words, "as a burnt-offering," are a sheer interpolation of Mr. Mackay's; *useless*, because, without them, the English received version expresses entirely and exactly all that is in the original; *wickedly false*, because the Hebrew word in the text, translated "burnt," is *never used for offering a "burnt-offering" to Jehovah.** And as to the slaughter of the inhabitants of the idolatrous city for apostacy, as that was high-treason under the Theocracy, it is not a penalty which need so greatly surprise, or which can in any way support the author's sweeping conclusions. He afterwards cites such passages as Isa. xxxiv. 6; Jer. xlvi. 10; and Ezek. xxxix. 17; where, from the connection in which the word "sacrifice" is used, he infers that human victims are intended. But the style in all these cases is highly metaphorical; and he seems not to be aware that the Hebrew word translated "to sacrifice," meant originally, and is often used in the Scriptures to mean, simply *to slaughter, to kill;* as in Deut. xii. 15; 1 Kings i. 9, 19, 25; 2 Chron. xviii. 2; and 1 Sam. xxviii. 24. Here, and indeed throughout his book, he assumes his own interpretation of the Scriptures as if it were the only interpretation ever thought of, were universally admitted as a matter of course, or were confirmed by some infallible

*This word occurs in the Bible some 150 times, and more commonly refers to the burning of offal, refuse matters, unclean and abominable things; and hence it is not strange that, in three or four cases, it refers to sacrifices offered to Moloch, Adramelech, or Baal. 2 Kings xvii. 31; Jer. vii. 31; xix. 5; and Deut. xii. 31. The other word signifying *to burn*, or rather *to send up*, or *cause to ascend*, and which is used in connection with burnt-offerings, occurs, in that sense, perhaps 250 or 300 times.

oracle or authority. Either he, or the German critics by whom he swears, must apparently have received some new revelation or "manifestation to philosophy." The farrago of his blasphemous doctrines, which we have given above as a sample of the rest, we have supposed to need in general no comment, but sufficiently to refute itself to the minds of most readers; and yet we could not restrain ourselves from throwing in an occasional interjection.

Mr. Mackay has devoted a chapter to the "antiquity of the Levitical Law." He thus begins.

"The same law, it is said, which prescribes the 'Cherem' prohibits Moloch worship. This objection, if it were not contradictory, might be met by proof that the Hebrew law is not the well-reflected work of a single mind, but a digest of various and often conflicting materials." Vol. ii. p. 434.

Here, at last, we begin to breathe. He has uttered the word *proof*. We may now expect something like connected argument and legitimate evidence. Well, what is the first proof? "Moses could hardly have prohibited a rite which, despite the compiler's caution, appears to have been resorted to by himself, as well as by Samuel and David." That is, Moses could not have prohibited the Israelites from causing their children to pass through the fire to Moloch, because he himself, and Samuel, and David, were Moloch worshippers. Well, how does this last fact appear? Why, Moses was a Moloch worshipper because he commanded the worshippers of the golden calf to be slain; Samuel was a Moloch worshipper because he hewed Agag to pieces; and David was a Moloch worshipper because he allowed the sons of Saul to be hung in Gibeah! — therefore the Levitical Law is a clumsy digest of stupid forgeries! But this is not his only proof. He proceeds: "we *know* (?) that much [how much?] of the present Pentateuch was long extant *only* in tradition." Very good; if we *know* it, that is enough; but the question returns, *how* do we *know* it? To this he makes two answers. First, he cites Judges vi. 13; Ps. xliv. 1, and lxxviii. 3, 6. Now, it is perfectly astonishing that the author should refer to such passages as his vouchers, which simply speak of "what our fathers have

told us" of God's doings in Egypt and elsewhere; especially when the express commandment orally to teach children these things, than which indeed nothing could be more natural without express command, — is repeatedly and positively given; as in Ex. xii. 26, 27, and xiii. 14; Deut. vi. 7, and xi. 19. While, on the other hand, the appeal to tradition does prove one other thing sufficiently, namely, that the Mosaic history could not have been a fabrication of the Babylonish exiles, nor indeed any fabrication at all, as he afterwards alleges. But secondly, he asserts that "many of the enactments of the law can only be explained as a prospective provision for exigencies not existing at the date of its supposed origin." The force of this reason may not be immediately manifest; but if we will just assume, with the author, that no miracle, no prophecy, no revelation, is possible, its force will be immediately perceived, and we shall need no further arguments to prove that the Levitical Law was a forgery. He seems, however, not quite content with this reason himself; but proceeds to urge the stale suggestion that the subsequent ignorance and neglect of the law prove its non-existence; as though, by his own account, the records of that "ignorance and neglect" were not "digested" by the same hands which "digested" the books of the law; and as though the known consequences of that neglect all along, and especially the final catastrophe, being in fulfilment of express predictions and threatenings contained in the law, were not, to any mind free from the prepossessions of Mr. Mackay's, the most irrefragable confirmation of the authenticity and divine origin of the Pentateuch. But he finally winds up his argument with the unanswerable allegation, that "the better part, or at least better application, of the law is admitted to have been a late discovery, originating doubtless in the civilizing influences operating under the Jewish kings;" and he then cites, as proof of such admission, Isa. xxix. 13, and Jer. viii. 8. Now we have had some acquaintance with allegorizing interpretations, and double senses, and treble senses; but we humbly confess that it exceeds all our powers of ratiocination or divination, of permutation or combination, to extract from those passages any proof of the author's assertion. We will quote the English text entire.

"Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men:" —

"How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? Lo, certainly in vain made he it; the pen of the scribes is in vain."

These things are written in Isaiah and Jeremiah; therefore the law of Moses is a forgery! The inference is certainly strong.

He proceeds to treat the later Hebrew religion as a "reformation of Jehovism," — of the bloody and horrible Moloch worship practised by Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and David; forgetting that he had just said, "the sanguinary principle sanctioned by the example of Abraham extends through the *whole* of the Hebrew *ritual* and *practice*."

"The prophets," says he, "represent their lessons as the old law, the true statutes and judgments of Jehovah, while impliedly exhibiting the falsehood of their own assertions. . . . . The 'book of the law,' supposed to have been found in the temple by the high priest, was *probably* only a brief exposition of prophetical morality in a sententious form, accompanied with corresponding changes of ceremonial, especially of the passover. *Up to* this epoch of Josiah's reign, idolatry had been the established religion."

Here is a sufficiently positive statement. The oracle having spoken, we may now be assured that, all the way from Abraham to Josiah, idolatry had been the established religion among the Hebrews. If we are asked how we know this, we can only answer, Mr. Mackay says so, or perhaps, "Ghillany argues plausibly," or "the German critics" have so decided. If we inquire by what ancient documents or modern revelations this has been ascertained, we may answer our own question. It does not appear even how they have found out there ever were such men as Abraham, and Samuel, and David, and the ancient Hebrews; although, it is true, we have certain professedly ancient writings which tell us the history of that people. But these writings, though neither he nor the German critics can trace them, historically and by positive evidence, to any other origin than that which they

claim on the face of them, both he and they have agreed, on *a priori* grounds, or by virtue of their own infallibility, to hold as false and fabulous. Yet they can easily believe in the "probable" existence of a book which no man has ever seen, and of which not a fragment remains; and besides, they know, or as good as know, its contents. Why was not this "book of the law," if such as our author describes it, preserved? Surely it might as well have come down to us as any other book of the age of Josiah; and he does not pretend to deny that Hebrew books as old as that have come down to us? Quite a different "book of the law" *has* come down to us, and we know its contents; and we find them altogether consistent with the account of the discovery of a "book" in Josiah's reign; and, moreover, we find it written in an antique style of language and thought which could not have been the product of that, or of any subsequent, age. But of the existence of that other sort of "book," at any time, we find no evidence but in the imagination of modern infidels.

But our author says, that, after the return from Babylon, "the reformers began to make collections of the ancient Scriptures, remodelling them on their own views; the great object of the compilers being to give reform the sanction of antiquity; to throw back the better religion of the present to the days of Moses. Truth of fact was remorselessly sacrificed to truth of principle." Surely Mr. Mackay was present at this remodelling operation; he remembers so clearly how it was all managed, and withal has himself profited so largely by the example; or he has seen the ancient documents which underwent this operation, and will before long give them to an impatient public in their original, authentic form; or, at least, he has the positive evidence of some eye-witnesses to the historical fact of such an operation; and, if so, the direct reproduction of their testimony would certainly be more satisfactory, to most of those cautious believers in a divine revelation who are in the habit of demanding some evidence to rest their faith upon, than his mere unsupported assertion. We wait for the testimony.

But he goes on to say, that, as it seems, by those very "remodelling reformers" who returned from the Babylonish

captivity, "it began to be perceived that Abraham's sacrifice was a suggestion of the devil, and that the ancient Hebrew God could not have been the Father of Jesus of Nazareth. Far different had been the Jewish records if edited by the idolatrous majority." Very likely; or, if edited by Mr. Mackay, he might have added; but what does that prove?

He next proceeds to indorse the blasphemies of such heretics as Cerdon and Marcion; who treated the Mosaic "demiurgus" as the impersonation of the evil principle, and unhesitatingly consigned all the pious adherents of the ancient "Cosmocrator," including Abel, Enoch, Noah, &c., to Tartarus. And, in his last chapter, he apparently adopts all the complicated and interminable fantastic theories and mad ravings of the Ebionites and Gnostics, openly ranking them as immeasurably superior to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in elevation of thought, spirituality of conception, and purity of moral principle.

"The Hebrew reform," he asserts, "is emphatically connected with the *passover*. This festival was notoriously in relation with the sacrificial infanticide of the Hebrews, as also with the practice of presenting every first born male child before Jehovah, afterwards substituted for the earlier revolting rite." "Jehovah proved his people as he 'tempted' or 'proved' their most venerated ancestor, and it was at the price of his own 'sons and daughters' that he turned his merciless sword against their enemies."

That is to say, in plain English, the Israelites offered their own first-born as a sacrifice to Jehovah-Moloch, that they might be delivered from their Egyptian bondage; and afterwards celebrated this *Passover* by a similar annual immolation. But, as the history is expressly against this novel view, to give it for the present no harsher epithet, what evidence does Mr. Mackay adduce? He asserts, in the first place, but without pretending the least shadow of evidence, that the "redemption clause," (Exod. xiii. 13, 15,) is an interpolation; and by the same rule he might prove that atheism is the express doctrine of the Scriptures; for, by declaring the clause, "The fool hath said in his heart," to be an interpolation, he will make the 53d Psalm roundly assert, "There is no God." But, in the second place, in proof of this particular his-

torical event of "sacrificial infanticide," he returns to his general charge, "the immolation of human victims down to a late period unquestionably formed a part, and no unimportant one, of Jehovah's ritual;" and in proof of this "unquestionable" fact, he has the effrontery to cite, as his sole evidences, Mic. vi. 7, Isa. i. 15, and 2 Sam. xxi. 9. The first passage contains the question, "Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" The second declares to the apostate and hypocritical Jews, "Your hands are full of blood." And the last — a citation which has grown quite threadbare from Mr. Mackay's reiterations — contains a statement of the execution of the sons of Saul at Gibeah; an execution which was peremptorily demanded by the vindictive Gibeonites, and which was in fulfilment of God's threatening against the house of Saul. And, in view of such proofs as these, we feel fully authorized to declare, that the alleged "unquestionable" fact of Mr. Mackay is as baseless and as base a fabrication and falsehood as any respectable man ever dared to utter and set his name to.

But, besides this "unquestionable" fact, he has yet another proof of the "sacrificial infanticide," the grand Moloch immolation of the Hebrews, on coming out of Egypt. "The conjecture," he avers, — "the *conjecture*" of a "*notorious*" fact! — "is confirmed by Ezekiel, who, in a remarkable passage, Ez. xx. 25, asserting Moloch worship to have been an institution authorized by Jehovah in order to punish his people, alludes to the old passover rite as having formed part of that worship," &c. Now the passage in Ezekiel runs thus, —

"Because they had not executed *my* judgments, but had despised *my* statutes, and had polluted *my* sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols.

"Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live;

"And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that *they* caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord."

The plain and obvious meaning of which, and the only meaning consistent with the context and with the

whole Biblical history, is this ; — Inasmuch as they would not obey *my* laws, but went back to the idolatry of their fathers, I also gave them up to carry out this idolatry to its most destructive and loathsome results, to follow their own inventions, and be filled with their own devices. As when Jehovah says further, at verse 39, " Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, hereafter also, if ye will not hearken unto me; but pollute ye my holy name no more with your gifts and with your idols." Will Mr. Mackay interpret this as a solemn command to practise idolatry, and utterly to abandon the worship of Jehovah, because the verb is in the imperative mood? Why, then, should he insist upon the manifestly metaphorical " I gave them," equivalent to " I left, or gave them up, to obey ;" and upon this narrow basis, proceed to build his whole structure of horrible blasphemy? The meaning which we have indicated above is undeniably possible, and indeed a very natural one according to Hebrew usage, and is abundantly confirmed by the whole context, — *Vid.* verses 7 and 8, 12 and 13, 18 – 21, and especially 30 and 31, — as well as by many passages parallel to these in other parts of the Bible. Why, then, *must* we receive Mr. Mackay's interpretation, with all its loathsome consequences? Yet he proceeds to say, —

" We are then *authorized by scripture testimony*, as well as collateral evidence, such as the custom of executing malefactors on the Passover, [as this is the only " collateral evidence " he adduces, we may presume it to be the strongest, if not the only, evidence of the kind which he could bring; but, admitting this to be a fact, what does it prove? and how far it is a fact remains questionable, especially as the custom in the time of the Romans is stated to have been, not to execute malefactors on this feast, but to release one *prisoner* who should be desired by the people. But he proceeds,] we are authorized to presume that the new Passover replaced the old Moloch rite, in which, if analogy may be a basis for conjecture, [a sure ground to go upon, truly, in order to reach such outrageous and impious conclusions,] if *analogy may be a basis for conjecture*, a man or child was hung or rather crucified, as an offering 'before the Lord' during the last hours of the departing year, and after being suspended till sunset, was then taken down, the blood poured out upon unleavened cakes, which, with portions of the flesh, were eaten by the communicants, and the remainder burnt in the furnace fire of

'Moloch,' the still continuing title of Jehovah, in Paschal invocations."

The rest of the "*conjecture based upon analogy*" may pass for what it is worth; but as to the "invocation," it has always been understood without offence by Jehovah's worshippers that he is *King*. So much, and no more, is meant by the alleged form of address.

It ought to be here acknowledged, to Mr. Mackay's credit, that he does not seem himself to have invented this theory of a Jehovah-Moloch, and an infanticide-Passover, with all its abominable and disgusting details; but to have borrowed it entire from his right-hand man, Ghillany, who "reasons plausibly." Indeed, we can hardly conceive it possible that such a theory could have been invented by any English mind. Alas, that any English mind should be ready to embrace it! As for Ghillany, some may think fit to charge us with groping in superstitious darkness and perversely shunning the light of the modern "manifestation," when we confess that we have not waded through five or six hundred pages of the atheism, blasphemy, and loathsome imaginations of such "plausible reasoning." Nevertheless, we freely make the confession. Mr. Mackay's own book is quite enough for one year's dose.

Mr. Mackay pursues his "Progress" to the final development of the Hebrew religion in Christianity. He talks of the "presumed resurrection" of Jesus, and thinks "he did not himself at first understand the catholicity of his own mission." He is of opinion that "Christianity, by its atonement scheme, betrayed its own dignity, and abandoned for a fanciful notion a prolific truth." As to the question whether Jesus was a *suicide*, he vibrates in uncertainty, inclining first to one side and then to the other. (See pp. 344, 394, 395, vol. ii.) At last, he seems to make up his mind, on the whole, in the negative.

"Jesus," he says, "experienced the bitter disappointment of an enthusiastic philanthropist whose aims and motives have been misconstrued and depreciated. His agony was not an unmanly fear of death, but distress at the utter failure of his most cherished hopes, and the impossibility of his living except as an apostate without universal offence and constant persecution. It may be that at an earlier period he imagined that his kingdom in its loftiest meaning [how came he to think of such a meaning? Has it

been fulfilled?] was to be quickly realized to the eye either in a natural or supernatural manner. But the expectation, if ever formed, was soon dispelled. At this conjuncture, it remained only that, since his Messianic plan had for the present failed both temporally and spiritually, he should himself become a sacrifice for his cause, not merely in order to prove his sincerity, but as an appeal to the future world against the grossness and hardheartedness of this." Therefore he died.

"In short, we cannot admit the atonement theory to have been authorized by Jesus as part of his religion. If human waywardness had deliberately proposed to cast a slur on the sublime act of self-devotion, which closed the career of Jesus, the object could scarcely have been more effectually attained than by construing it as an enchantment or spell, through which the real mental change he died to promote might be superseded by a mere profession of paradoxical belief."

Such is, in his view, "the atonement theory;" and yet he thinks that it was inculcated by St. Paul, though not by Jesus himself. He further objects to the "theory" which he has thus caricatured, that, —

"Apart from a firm trust in the general beneficence of the Creator, which needs not to be restored, since it never was withdrawn, can this transcendental presumption [admitted to have been taught by St. Paul,] which arrogantly anticipates the distant goal of existence, be a safe creed for an imperfect, progressive being? It has practically given to Christianity a character, which, though it have an ill sound, it would be vain as well as dishonest to dissemble, that of a religion of Moloch."

Moloch seems to be a great favorite with our author. Not only was Judaism a religion of Moloch, but Christianity is a religion of Moloch. Not only was Jehovah, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Moses, Samuel and David, no other than Moloch; but the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as recognized by himself, (for he claimed the God of Abraham as his Father,) and by St. Paul, and by the Church Catholic to this day, is Moloch still!

For the many expressions and theories of Mr. Mackay's book, which are so abhorrent to a Christian ear, and which we have felt compelled from time to time to characterize as "impious," "blasphemous," &c., but without ever finding any epithet sufficiently strong to express fully the intensity of our feelings and convictions, — he ought per-

haps to have the benefit of one general excuse; namely, that he deals with subjective notions, with conceptions of Deity, and not with the Deity himself; indeed, that his general theory is purely subjective, and therefore essentially atheistic; for, at least, he would hold that, when we speak of God, we know not what we say, nor whereof we affirm, as regards the truth of objective reality. But all this will not excuse his so wantonly shocking and outraging, in the bosom of a Christian country, the most sacred feelings of the Christian world.

We cannot follow him through his "speculative Christianity." Here he is at liberty to indulge in what extravagances and fancies he will; and he seems to have used this liberty with a full consciousness of possessing it. Suffice it to say, as illustrations of his tact in this department, that he makes St. Paul a Gnostic, and St. John an Emanationist and a Docetes; holds Marcion and the Clementina as higher authority than the Old Testament Scriptures; and concludes with the anticipation that the title of "Saints" will one day be given to such philosophers as himself.

Such is the latest "manifestation to philosophy." We would boldly place it, in its complete and naked beauty, side by side with the system of Christianity, and bid men make their selection.

Beginning with the atheistic denial of a personal God, and, of course, assuming all miracle and all revelation to be impossible, this "manifestation" proceeds to exscind this and that portion of the Bible as an interpolation, and to disparage and treat with contempt the entire Old Testament; then, resolving the wonderful histories of the New Testament into mythical fables, and scouting the peculiar doctrines of Christianity as puerile and superstitious, it ends with degrading Jesus himself to an impostor or a disappointed enthusiast.

Christianity, on the other hand, proving and accepting the objective existence of a personal, living God, admits the possibility, and the probability, and, on sufficient and unanswerable evidence, the actual fact, of miracle and divine revelation. It then proceeds upon the basis of such a revelation thus established; and, by receiving certain mysterious doctrines relating to the person and office of

Jesus Christ, and making him the central idea and object of divine truth, of human history and human destiny, it finds all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments concentrating and harmonizing in him into one glorious, beautiful, and perfect system; — a system which satisfies the religious and rational nature, the moral and spiritual wants of man, elevating and ennobling his whole being by the purifying influences of its holy doctrines and heavenly hopes.

Here are the two systems, then; and again we say, let men choose. Let them fully understand both systems, in their principles, their process, and their results,— the Infidel system as well as the Christian, and the Christian system as well as the Infidel; let them see each in its proper character and full development; and we have no fears for the result. We have to thank Mr. Mackay for having so completely stripped off the mask from the infidel tendencies of the age, which have been enabled to do their poisonous and destructive work only by virtue of the friendly, angelic disguises which they have cunningly assumed. His book may do some harm; but only — if harm it can be called — by completing the work of corruption in the case of those who were not only predisposed to the infidel malady, but already so far gone as to be beyond all human hope of recovery.

Not only have we no fears for the truth, but we have no misgivings about it, no wishes against it. Whatever it is, wherever it is, and whoever has it, let it prevail, we say, with all our hearts; and prevail it surely will, though how long the struggle may last, man knoweth not. Truth never changes and never dies. Truth is one, identical, eternal; but falsehood and errors are manifold, multiform, ever-changing, individually transient, but never yet dying without heirs.

That Christianity, its facts and its faith, should be assailed, is no new thing. It has had its struggle with Judaism and Gnosticism, with Pagan philosophy and Pagan corruptions, with rationalism and superstition, with illumination and ignorance, with physics and metaphysics, with transcendentalism, skepticism, mysticism, Pantheism, Atheism. Still it survives. Still its pure and holy fountains pour forth the clear waters of life for the

healing of the nations. It has sustained itself, and will sustain itself, against the mighty hosts of its open and malignant foes, and against the yet greater malignity of those hypocritical friends, who, with patronizing insults and insidious flatteries, have condescended to correct or excuse its alleged errors, to soften down or explain away the so-called grossness of its peculiarities, to emasculate its character; — in short, to show that, when interpreted after a certain sort, it is not such a silly, wretched thing after all, but that the instructions of Jesus of Nazareth, at least, may be brought into harmony with the latest "manifestation to philosophy." Mr. Mackay combines both these classes in one grand impersonation. From some passages in his work, it would seem he claims to be a Christian. But if a man who believes that the progress of the intellect in its religious development has been from Pantheism through Polytheism to Monotheism, and yet that the idea of a personal God is puerile; who declares all acts of worship to be extravaganzas, and prayer, though recommended by Christ's own example and enjoined by his express precepts, to be a degrading, enervating act of unmanly weakness and indolence; who holds a belief in miracles, though professedly wrought by Jesus himself, to be in this enlightened age "blaphemous," and the professed miracles themselves attributable to Beelzebub rather than to God, and all prophecy or divine revelation to be an impossibility and an absurdity; who identifies Jehovah with Moloch, and denies that Jesus was, what he certainly professed to be, the Christ, the Son of the living God; who quietly assumes the histories and facts of the New Testament to be myths or "cunningly-devised fables," and its peculiar doctrines to be superstitious abortions; — if such a man is a Christian, then we have only to say, that, of all religionists on earth, Pagans, Mohammedans, Pantheists, and Atheists, inclusive, those who have usually called themselves Christians have the least claim to the title which they assume.

We have said we have no fears for the truth. We will add, we have no fears for Christianity, which, we doubt not, is the truth. As long as the instinctive belief in God, written on the human heart, remains unerased; — and, though it may be obscured, it never can be erased, it

is indelible, wrought into the very fibre and texture and life of man's being; — as long as man remains capable of soberly appreciating the force and value of evidence; and as long as his moral and spiritual wants, his sense of dependence, his consciousness of sin and alienation, his longing for redemption and reconcilement, his aspirations after holiness and immortality, remain; so long Christianity must remain, — remain to give consolation to affliction, peace to the conscience, a sure anchor to man's highest hopes; remain to raise the degraded, to purify the corrupt, to encourage the fallen, as well as always to keep a loftier goal before the eyes of the most advanced in moral progress, the foremost in the spiritual race; remain to reform and regenerate human life and human society by diffusing its pure and gentle spirit of self-denial and benevolence, and adding to the natural and ordinary restraints from wrong and motives to duty, the sanctions of religious truth and future retribution.

Art. II. — *Five Years in an English University.* By Charles Astor Bristed, late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

Mr. Bristed's book contains an intolerable amount of flippancy, slang, and self-conceit. But it also affords much information upon a very interesting topic, — information which would be sought in vain elsewhere. It gives a full and clear account of the practical operation of the English University system, bringing out into strongest relief those points in which it differs most from the plan of education adopted in our American Colleges, and thereby enabling the reader to judge of the merits and deficiencies of both. No one ever enjoyed more favorable opportunities for making comparisons between the two schemes of University education. Of English descent by his father's side, though an American by birth, enjoying a competency or even a superfluity of wealth, half a dandy and half a

scholar by natural inclination, equally proud of his knowledge of Greek and his skill in mixing "sherry cobblers," a liberal in English politics and a stout conservative in New York, — his prejudices may be supposed to have neutralized each other, and to have left his mind open and without bias to the reception of the truth. Soon after graduating at an early age, and with some distinction, at Yale College, he went to England and entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he remained five years, winning high honors, though not the highest, as a classical scholar, and by his companionable qualities acquiring a large circle of friends. He gives a very lively, and, we have every reason to believe, a very truthful, sketch of life in an English University, — of the facilities and the incitements for study which it affords, and of the characters and pursuits of the multitude who there receive their chief intellectual culture. The inordinate vanity of the writer, in one respect, has been of service to the work; it has led him to chronicle with singular frankness scenes and incidents which other persons would have either suppressed altogether, or kept in the background. Mr. Bristed tells the whole story, even when his better feelings and principles whisper that the disclosure is a perilous or shameful one. That a young man should be elated by a little distinction gained at College into an undue estimate of his own powers and acquirements, is so common an occurrence, that we are not at all disposed to judge it harshly. But when this feeling leads him to be pert and supercilious in his judgment of others, to speak sneeringly of those institutions of education in his mother country of which he knows nothing except from hearsay, and contemptuously of the scholastic acquirements of men who have grown gray in those studies into which he has only made a dashing inroad, his presumption appears more serious, and merits a harsher name than juvenile indiscretion. However mature in years he may be, the open manifestation of such feelings is essentially boyish; it certainly proves that his education is incomplete in one respect, as it has not yet taught him the measure of his own ignorance.

When Mr. Bristed forgets himself, and pursues his proper theme, the explanation of the English theory of a liberal education, and the mode in which it is reduced to

practice at the University of Cambridge, comparing both its merits and defects with the plan of collegiate education which is generally adopted in this country, his remarks are sensible and instructive. We think he overestimates the advantages of the English system, and generalizes too rapidly when he takes it for granted, that a few peculiarities of Yale, of which institution alone he has any personal knowledge, are necessary features of all American Colleges. It is only as a student, or an undergraduate, moreover, that he has become familiar with the operations of the two systems. If his stay, either at New Haven or Cambridge, had been so far prolonged as to obtain experience in giving as well as receiving instruction, some of his opinions might have been materially modified. As the general subject of University education is now attracting much attention in this country, where many experiments relating to it are going on, we propose to glean from these volumes all the information which they afford respecting it, and then to consider what features we may profitably borrow from the English plan. The first object, therefore, will be to gain a clear notion of what is actually done at the two great English Universities. The difference between them is not great; and, from other sources of information respecting Oxford, we have obtained some knowledge of the details of instruction there, which may be compared with Mr. Bristed's account of the sister University.

In both cases, the University is a confederation of Colleges, the latter being distinct corporations, that need only the power of granting degrees in order to correspond very perfectly with institutions of the same name in America. The Colleges are independent, and, to a certain extent, are rivals of each other. Trinity College, which is the largest at Cambridge, has about the same number of students who have not yet taken their first degree, as Yale; St. John's, which is next in size, has not so many undergraduates as there are at Harvard. These two contain about half the population of the University. There are fifteen other Colleges, most of which are very small; they do not average over fifty undergraduates each. The theory is, that the Colleges give the instruction, and the University confers the degrees, holding two public examin-

ations for that purpose, to one of which the student is subjected about the middle, and to the other at the end, of his undergraduate course. Each College, also, subjects all its students to annual examinations of its own, and offers Scholarships and other prizes, to be contended for at special examinations of those only who choose to become competitors for them. These examinations, and the honors and emoluments which are obtained by those who excel in them, are the peculiar features of the English University system. No instruction whatever, upon which attendance is compulsory, is offered by the University at large; and very little such instruction is afforded by the Colleges. There are about twenty professors, who give lectures on various subjects to all who choose to attend; but the number of auditors is usually very small. Out of the fifteen hundred undergraduates in the University, not more than fifty attended Dr. Whewell's course on Moral Philosophy, while Professor Sedgwick lectured on Geology to thirty. Mr. Bristed tells us he was one of three who listened to Professor Cumming's course on Chemistry, in 1841. Several of the Professors do not lecture at all, probably because they cannot obtain any hearers.* But in 1848, "by way of giving the Professors something more to do," it was provided that all candidates for an ordinary degree should attend, for at least one term, the lectures of one of the Professors, taking his choice among thirteen of them. With this exception, all the instruction which the student is required to receive is that given by the College Tutors, whose exercises are informal or catechetical lectures, which, in the earlier part of the course, are not unlike the "recitations" at Yale or Harvard, but in the second and third years, gradually become "lectures" properly so called, at which the students have nothing to do but to listen and take notes. At Trinity College, the Freshmen are required to attend daily two such lectures, one classical and the other mathematical, each occupying one hour. In the second and third years, the student has his choice of one lecture out of three or four. But the plan of studying with a private tutor being almost universal, Mr. Bristed tells us "the public lectures are, with

* Out of twenty-eight Professors at Oxford, only thirteen now give lectures.

some happy exceptions, rather in the way of, than any help to the best men." Without the aid afforded by the private tutors, he further says, "I should have gained but very moderate benefit from the public instruction of the College; and I believe every man, except those from the public schools, would say the same thing."

"With regard to the College lectures delivered to the Junior and Senior Sophs, there is frequently, it must be owned, a very moderate attendance. Sometimes this is owing to the limited nature of the subject. For instance, one of the best Mathematical Fellows at Trinity or John's is lecturing on some high branch of Mathematics — something of which the Differential Calculus is merely the alphabet; none but high men can take interest in, or derive profit from such lectures. Now as there are only, on an average, twelve Wranglers from John's, and nine from Trinity every year, the class is of necessity limited to a dozen, and the lecture takes very much the form of an examination. In Classics, it depends chiefly on the lecturer whether he has a good class or not. The lectures, though mainly for the benefit of a particular Year, which is to be examined at the May in the subject lectured upon, are open without extra fee to all the College; and a lecturer who has made one author his *spécialité*, and can translate and explain him in an interesting manner, will be sure to have a large attendance. Our Plato lecturer at Trinity furnished a striking example of this. His room was always crowded; his audience comprised not only the Junior Sophs for whom the lecture was specially intended, but Senior Sophs, Bachelors, and even Fellows. Nay, some men of other Colleges applied to be admitted; but this, if I remember rightly, was contrary to the College rules and usages." Vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

A College is a corporate society for the encouragement of learning, endowed with property for the maintenance of its Head,* of a certain number of Fellows, who are usually graduates, or have taken at least their first degree, and of a certain number of Scholars,† who are usually undergraduates. All these persons receive certain emoluments or

* The Head of a College may be called, according to its Statutes, either President, Rector, Warden, Dean, Principal, Master, or Provost.

† The Scholars of Magdalen College, Oxford, are called *Demies*, because entitled by the Statutes to a *demi* ration or allowance; those of Queen's College, Oxford, are called *Taberdars*, because they formerly wore the peculiar gown called a *Tabard*. The *Students* of Christ Church correspond at first to the Scholars, and afterwards to the Fellows, of other Colleges; that is, both graduate and undergraduate members are designated by this name.

allowances, and are said to be "on the foundation;" and with them the organization of the College is properly complete. The original intention of the Founders was, that all the members of the institution, whether they were instructors or pupils, should receive salaries, or have at least the larger portion of their expenses paid. But there is also another class of undergraduates, who are not entitled to share the bounty of the Founders and benefactors, and though they are often the most numerous body, are simply an accident in the University, and form no part of its essential organization. These are the Commoners, Fellow or Gentleman Commoners, Pensioners, Sizars, &c., whose generic appellation is "members not on the foundation." A College may open its doors, if it sees fit, to members of this class, and afford them, on terms by no means disadvantageous to itself, the same facilities for study and obtaining a decree as are enjoyed by its Scholars. But this is purely voluntary; and some Colleges, therefore, both at Cambridge and Oxford, restrict themselves to the members on the foundation.

The academical year at Cambridge consists of three terms, — Michaelmas, Lent, and Easter, — which really comprise only twenty-two weeks, thus leaving thirty weeks for vacation. What is called "the Long" vacation extends from the end of May to the 20th of October. We are further told, that each of the terms is divided into two parts; "and after 'division' in the Michaelmas and Lent terms, a student, who can assign a good plea for absence to the *College* authorities, may go down and take holiday for the rest of the term, having already kept enough of the term to answer the *University* requisition." All the lectures are concluded at the "division" of the Easter term, when most of the students leave Cambridge, — or "go down," to adopt the University slang, — and the Commencement practically takes place in the "Long" vacation.

It is obvious that the venerable University does not impose any severe labor upon the candidates for a bachelor's degree. As public instruction is given, on an average, only for about one hour a day during twenty-two weeks of the year, and as the undergraduate course occupies only three years and a third, the requisitions at the public examinations must be very moderate, or the

University would furnish no means for complying with its own demands. We find, accordingly, that the requisitions for admission, for the intermediate examination, or "the Little Go," and for the final examination, preparatory to receiving a bachelor's degree, *are* moderate. Of course, we are now speaking only of what is essential, or what must be performed, before graduating. Still, the greater number of the students do not profess to do any thing more than they are obliged to do; low as the standard is, they do not aspire to rise above it. We shall speak afterwards of the candidates for University honors, and of those who, if they do not enter into the competition for the great prizes of academic life, are still desirous of something more than graduating among the ignoble crowd. Out of about 350 students who receive their first degree at Cambridge every year, over 200 content themselves with "going out in Poll," as it is termed, or doing just enough to escape being "plucked." Mr. Bristed says that this is "equivalent to doing nothing for half the course;" to which we should add, 'and doing very little for the other half.' But our readers shall judge.

"Before you are fairly in your college you must pass an examination. At many of the colleges this is little more than nominal, any Master of Arts being qualified to admit a candidate; but at Trinity there is a regular test, though it must be owned the standard is not very high. The candidates for admission are examined in the First Book of the Iliad, the First Book of the Æneid, some easy Greek and Latin Prose, Arithmetic, the elements of Algebra, two Books of Euclid, and Paley's Natural Theology. Any one fitted for the Sophomore Class at Yale could pass here without trouble. The candidates are generally well prepared, and the examiners lenient: out of one hundred and thirty or more who offer themselves there are seldom more than four or five rejected. The principle seems to be, 'Let in every one, and if they can't keep on, that is their look-out.' In this way, various initiation fees are secured which would otherwise be lost. On a rough estimate, out of one hundred and twenty who enter every year at Trinity, more than twenty drop off by the beginning of the second year. This is the only entrance examination, and however much you may know, there is no such thing as entering in advance of the Freshman year, save only for men migrating from Oxford, who are allowed their Oxford terms, and can take second or third year rank

at once. The regular examiners are the Dean and the Head Lecturer. The latter functionary was busy about some other matters when I presented myself, several days after the beginning of the term. Accordingly, I was told that my classical examination would be postponed to some convenient opportunity, and meanwhile the Senior Dean would admit me on passing the mathematical part of the examination privately to him." Vol. i. pp. 15, 16.

It is very easy, then, to enter the University, and we have only to inquire how much must be done after you get there. At the intermediate examination, or "the Little Go," which is held about the middle of the second year, the student is examined by the University authorities in Paley's Evidences of Christianity, and on one Greek subject and one Latin subject. Notice is given a year beforehand which subject will be taken, so that the student has ample time to make preparation for the formidable ordeal. In Greek, one book of Homer or Herodotus, or a Greek Tragedy, or two short Dialogues of Plato are usually selected; in Latin, it is generally one book of Livy or Tacitus.

"It will be seen, from the above statement, that there is nothing in the *Little Go* to occupy a good school-boy of fifteen more than three or four months; and for a Second-year Cantab of good standing, there is really nothing to prepare except the Paley; he might without danger trust to the light of nature for his Classics, or if scrupulous to run no risk, read them up sufficiently for practical purposes in three days, and the same time properly applied would make him master of his Evidences. Nevertheless the Classical men do grumble a little, chiefly I imagine on account of the two or three days consumed in the examination, which some of them can ill spare at that juncture, and because they can gain no credit in a pass examination and may get disgraced by dropping into the second class through some carelessness in Paley. On the Mathematical men it comes rather harder; some of them, especially in the Small Colleges, are much behindhand in their Classics, and require some time to get up their subjects. But I believe no one of any mathematical eminence ever was plucked for the Little Go, though some have been placed in the second class; and it is so obvious that a Second-year collegian ought to know Classics enough to pass such an examination, that no attempt has ever been made to alter it in the way of *diminution*. But within the last three years, as one of a system of changes tending to equalize the requirements from Mathematicians and Classics, two books of Euclid and ordinary Arithmetic were

added; and about the same time a knowledge of Old Testament History was made a requisite." Vol. i. pp. 126–128.

At the final examination, the candidate for an ordinary degree must be prepared upon the following subjects: — Paley's Moral Philosophy, Ecclesiastical History, three books of Euclid, Arithmetic and elementary Algebra, certain portions of Mechanics and Hydrostatics, and the Acts of the Apostles in the original, together with one Greek and one Latin subject, which are announced two years beforehand, and usually consist of one book of history, or an oration, tragedy, or dialogue. The examination upon the last three subjects involves such questions upon history, geography, and antiquities as are suggested by the text. To prepare the candidate for this portion of the ordeal, his private tutor "crams" him, in the course of a few days, with an amount of information sufficient to answer all questions that are likely to be asked; Paley and Ecclesiastical History are "got up" in a similar manner by a few days' labor. We do not speak here of the *College* examinations; for though all the undergraduates are subject to them, they form no part of the *University* preparation for a degree. At "the May" examination in Trinity College, 50 marks or credits, out of the 3,000 which are given for satisfactory answers to *all* the questions, will save one from being "posted," or mentioned separately as "unworthy to be classed;" and the only penalty for being twice posted, in successive years, is that the wittol is "advised" to remove to one of the smaller Colleges, or to try some other pursuit. He may still save his degree, if he can pass the University ordeal.

At Oxford, the year is divided into four terms, and residence for twelve terms is all that is necessary for a degree, though sixteen are nominally required. The allowance of vacation is even larger than at Cambridge, as the academical year does not necessarily include more than eighteen weeks; though the proper working period is six weeks longer. A "New Examination Statute" was passed little more than a year ago, the printed explanations of which lie before us, and from them we glean the following particulars. As it is not designed to have a retroactive effect, or to alter the University course for

those who entered before it was enacted, it is not yet in complete operation, and will not be before Easter Term, 1853. Whatever may be thought of the amount of study which it enjoins, it is certainly an improvement upon the system previously in force; the requisitions are increased by it, and the examinations are made to cover more ground. It establishes three University examinations, which virtually correspond to the three years of the undergraduate course; though provision is made for those who fail at the first trial in the earlier ones, by allowing him to repeat the attempt after an interval of six months, or even of a year. If imperfectly prepared, he may even postpone making the trial to the end of the longer period. At the first trial, which is called "the Responsions," the student must be prepared upon a given portion of one Greek and one Latin author, upon two books of Euclid, Algebra to the end of Simple Equations, and Arithmetic as far as the extraction of the square root; he will also be required to translate some passage of English into Latin. For the Greek author, he may offer five books of Homer, or any two plays of the dramatists, or any two consecutive books either of Herodotus or Thucydides, or any four consecutive books of Xenophon's Anabasis. In Latin, the list proposed for him to choose from is so long that we shall copy but a portion of it; he may offer any four orations of Cicero, or two books of the *De Officiis*, or any three consecutive books of Livy, or the Georgics of Virgil, or five books of the Æneid.

The next step is the "First Public Examination," which properly belongs to the close of the second year, when the student must be prepared upon the Four Gospels in Greek, and upon one Greek and one Latin author, of which one must be a poet and the other an orator; the amount in each, or the number of books, is about the same as at the former trial, — say six books of Homer, or as many of Virgil, or the Odes and Epodes of Horace. The only restriction is, that the student cannot offer the same books which he brought up at the Responsions. He is also examined in Aldrich's Logic, *or* three books of Euclid and the first part of Algebra; and he is required to translate into Latin a passage of English prose.

For "The Public Examination" which concludes the

course, and is the immediate preparation for a bachelor's degree, the first requisition now is, that candidates must present "a certificate that they have attended two courses of public lectures." As this refers to the *Professorial* lectures, it is the greatest innovation which has been attempted at Oxford for many years. It is a return to the ancient system, which prevailed before the Colleges had taken the work of tuition out of the hands of the University, and reduced the latter to the shadow of a shade, — a mere instrument for holding the Colleges together and conferring the degrees. Under the new plan, many of the Professorships will cease to be sinecures, and the certainty of having an audience will inspire the incumbents with fresh energy, and render their lectures a capital feature in the general scheme of a University education. They are twenty-eight in number; and the undergraduates having the privilege of selecting any two of them, a spirit of competition must be awakened which will greatly add to their usefulness.

This final examination is to take place in two "Schools," or, as we should say, in two classes of subjects, one of which, that is to be passed first and by all, is called the School of *Literæ Humaniores;* while for the other, the candidate has his choice among the three Schools of Mathematics, Natural Science, and Law and Modern History. The ordeal in the two Schools is not necessarily passed in the same term, but an interval of six months may occur between them. The minimum in the School of *Literæ Humaniores* includes the Four Gospels and the Acts in Greek, Sacred History or the subjects of the books of the Old and New Testaments, the Evidences and the Thirty-Nine Articles, and "one philosopher and one historian, Greek or Latin, but not the same books which were brought up at the Responsions;" those at "the First" examination "being a poet and an orator, cannot of course avail for this examination." In regard to the other School, if the candidate elects that of Mathematics, he is examined in the first six books of Euclid, or the first part of Algebra; if he chooses Natural Science, a knowledge of two out of the three branches of Mechanical Philosophy, Chemistry, and Physiology, always including, however, some one branch of Mechanical Philosophy, is

required; if he takes Law and Modern History, he is examined on the History of England from the Conquest to the accession of Henry VIII., with Blackstone on Real Property; or from the accession of Henry VIII. to that of Queen Anne, with Blackstone on Personal Property and the Rights of Persons. Justinian's Institutes may be offered in lieu of Blackstone. At the close of the paper which gives the list of requisitions for a bachelor's degree under the New Statute, we find the humble remark,— '*It is very desirable that all who enter the University should be well versed in Arithmetic;*" — a caution which, in this country, would be deemed very proper for the candidates for admission into a High School.

We have only to add, that the terms of admission at Oxford, and the general course of *public* instruction there, are nearly the same as at Cambridge. The requirements for entrance at some of the Colleges and Halls are almost nominal; while at others, which can afford to be select in receiving students, they are about as strict as at Trinity College, Cambridge. Instruction is given by the College Tutors in the same manner, and to about the same extent, as in the sister University; and the College examinations, corresponding to "the Mays" at Cambridge, and here called "Collections," are strictly private. Each student chooses a Greek and a Latin book, and is examined on them by his College Tutor, the result having no effect on his standing in the University, or on his chance of obtaining a degree.

The brief sketch now given shows, not only all that is required at either of the English Universities for obtaining a bachelor's degree, but all that is actually performed by the major part of the students, — Mr. Bristed says, by four sevenths of them. To afford the means of comparison, we subjoin in a note what is required *for admission* to Harvard College here in New England; other American Colleges demand nearly as much.* The result of the

* Candidates for admission to Harvard College are examined in the following books in the Latin department; — the whole of Virgil, the whole of Cæsar's Commentaries, ten Orations of Cicero, Latin Grammar, including Prosody and Versification, and writing Latin. In Greek, they are examined in the Grammar, including Prosody and Versification, in writing Greek with the Accents, and in Felton's Greek Reader. This Reader contains twenty-seven Dialogues of Lucian, three books of Xenophon, (taken respectively

comparison is a startling one, and will doubtless take our readers by surprise; but there appears no reason to doubt its correctness. It may be summed up in the statement, that, before the recent changes took place, or till within three years, a student might enter either at Oxford or Cambridge, might pass through the undergraduate course, and finally obtain his first degree, with less labor and study, and less knowledge of Latin and Greek and Mathematics, than are required *for admission* to what is sometimes called "the University at Cambridge" here in America. The recent changes, (which are all incorporated in the account we have here given,) have added so much to the list of requisitions, that we should now fix the point of comparison with Harvard College, not at the period of admission, but at the close of the Freshman year.* It will doubtless be said, that the English examinations, though they nominally cover less ground, are really more searching and complete; and this, in a certain sense, is true. In order that the candidates may be compared with each other in respect to the thoroughness of their acquisitions, and a complete classification of them be made out according to their success in passing the ordeal, the examination is intentionally rendered so comprehensive and severe, that even the "Captain of the Poll," or the most successful candidate, fails to obtain the highest mark in every

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from the Cyropædia, the Anabasis, and the Hellenica,) about half a book of Herodotus, a series of extracts from two books of Thucydides, one Oration of Lysias, nearly a whole book of the Odyssey, several extracts from two plays of Euripides and one of Aristophanes, and a selection of shorter pieces from Anacreon, Sappho, Simonides, Callistratus, and Moschus. The Candidates are also examined in Arithmetic, in Algebra throughout Equations in the first degree, and in an Introduction to Geometry. They are further required to know the elements of Ancient History and Ancient Geography.

The examination extends through two days, and is in part *vivâ voce*, and in part conducted by writing. Printed extracts in Latin and Greek are given, of which the candidate is required to write a translation into English, and an easy passage of English prose must be translated into Latin and Greek. But in these written exercises, the use of a grammar and dictionary is allowed.

* The Classical and Mathematical studies of the Freshman year at Harvard include two books of Livy, the Odes and Epodes of Horace, one book of the Tusculan Disputations, the Panegyricus of Isocrates, Selections from the Greek Historians equivalent to two books of Herodotus, exercises in writing Latin and Greek, recitations in ancient history and classical antiquities, one complete treatise on Geometry, and another on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.

particular. But, of course, the University "standard" is determined by the qualifications, not of the Captain, but of the lowest recruit in the ranks; — by the smallest attainments that will enable the student "to pass," or to obtain a degree. And this standard, we repeat, may be obtained with less classical and mathematical knowledge than is necessary for completing the Freshman year at Harvard.

But we should have a very imperfect and unjust idea of the English University system, if we were to stop here. Besides the *passmen* at Oxford and *οἱ πολλοί* at Cambridge, or the ignoble crowd whose only object is to obtain a degree with as little labor and in as short time as possible, there are the candidates for the College and University distinctions and emoluments, and a few others, who, though indifferent about such prizes, still "live laborious days" at these ancient seats of learning, and endeavor to make the best use of the advantages there afforded for pursuing their favorite studies, or qualifying themselves for the particular profession which they have chosen. There is a fair proportion of such students at both Universities; probably a larger proportion than at any other College in the world. And the reason why there are so many of them is obvious; fairer prizes and larger inducements are held out to attract them and stimulate their efforts. The greater part of the vast endowments of Oxford and Cambridge are applied to "Exhibitions," Scholarships, and Fellowships, which are generally tenable only for a fixed period of years, so that many vacancies occur every year, and are filled by free competition.

"A Trinity Scholarship is worth £60 a-year, if the holder remains constantly in residence — £40 to most men according to the extent to which they usually avail themselves of it. Some of the Small-College Scholarships are worth £100 *per annum*. A Fellowship gives an income of from £200 to £400. A friend of mine was, during his third year, between School "Exhibitions," College Scholarships and Prizes, and the University Scholarship, in the receipt of more than *Seventeen Hundred* dollars; and as his expenses did not exceed half that sum, he was a gainer to the amount of the other half by receiving his education. Indeed, it is a common saying, and hardly an exaggerated one, that a poor student by taking a high degree supports not only himself, but his mother and sisters for life." Vol. i. p. 202.

We find, on a rough calculation from the University Calendar, that there are about 350 Fellowships at Cambridge, and nearly 700 Scholarships and Exhibitions. Oxford has about 400 Fellowships, 350 Scholarships, and 130 Portionists, Bible Clerks, Demies, Choristers, &c., who are only Fellows or Scholars under another name. We have not included in this enumeration the Heads of Houses, or Principals of the several collegiate establishments, who are chosen from the older Fellows in orders, and whose situations are the most lucrative in the University, being generally comfortable sinecures, their incumbents being also permitted to marry, a privilege that is denied to the others. Oxford, moreover, has no less than 430 benefices, or livings in the Church, at its disposal, which, as they fall in, are given by seniority to the Fellows who have taken orders. Cambridge, also, has a large number of these situations in the Church to bestow, as retiring pensions, upon those of its Fellows who have become weary of learned leisure at the University, or are desirous of committing matrimony. These lucrative situations, — Scholarships, Fellowships, benefices, and all, — as a general rule, do not belong to the University at large, but are the particular endowments of the respective Colleges and Halls, among which they are very unequally distributed. For obvious reasons, those Colleges have the largest number of undergraduates which have most of these rich prizes to distribute. The ordinary practice is, that each College elects to vacancies from the students of its own establishment, often limiting the choice in great part to those who are studying for holy orders. Among the Cambridge Colleges, Trinity has the greatest number of lucrative Scholarships and Fellowships, which are open to competition by all comers. Consequently, it has most students, and the rivalship among them is very keen. Mr. Bristed tells us it is not unusual for one of its members who has obtained a high rank, but not the highest, as a classical or mathematical scholar, just before the final struggle arrives, to shift his residence to one of the smaller Colleges, where he will be sure of a Fellowship, though not perhaps so valuable a one, without effort. Competition for these lucrative posts is not always open. At Oxford, especially, and in many instances at Cam-

bridge, they are often *close;* that is, they are reserved for natives of particular counties or towns, or for those who have been educated at certain schools; or they are so tied up, that birth or interest, more than any positive amount of scholarship, usually procure the candidate's election. Perhaps the larger proportion of such ungenerous restrictions is one reason why Oxford is inferior in reputation as a seminary of learning to its sister University. It is certain that its four colleges, Baliol, Oriel, Lincoln, and Wadham, where the Scholarships and Fellowships have been, either wholly or in part, thrown open to general competition, now usually furnish the most promising students of the University. Oriel was the home, at one time, of Copleston, Whateley, Coleridge, (afterwards Judge of the King's Bench,) Keble, Hampden, and Dr. Arnold; and it was then called, in allusion to the tastes of its most distinguished Fellows, the best school of speculative philosophy in England. On the other hand, All Souls, one of the most magnificent collegiate establishments in the world, with the most ample resources, with a building like a palace, and a library of forty thousand volumes, has no undergraduate members, and cannot be considered an establishment for education; but it has forty Fellows, who are only required by statute to be *bene nati, bene vestiti, et in arte cantandi mediocriter docti.* Of course, its Fellows are chosen from the graduates of the other Colleges. New College at Oxford is a mere continuation, or upper branch, of Winchester School, as King's College at Cambridge is of Eton; both being endowed for the benefit only of the students who come up to them from these institutions. In these cases, the seat of competition is not in the University, but in the Public School which sends up the future Scholars and Fellows; the best scholars at Winchester and Eton, who are elected to the vacancies in these Colleges as fast as they occur, are, in fact, provided for throughout their undergraduate course, and, in many cases, for life. So, also, when Fellowships are appropriated to the residents of certain counties or towns, there is usually more or less competition for them, the prize being too valuable to be left to a single candidate. But there is not much distinction in winning the race, except when the course is open to all comers; and this is generally the case at Cambridge.

Now, the whole business of the two Universities, beyond that of granting ordinary degrees in the manner and upon the terms already explained, may be said to consist in the proper distribution of these munificent rewards of learning. They make scholars because they are able to offer rich prizes for scholarship. The machinery of education with them is very simple; it consists in great part of the rigid annual examinations of the candidates "for Honors," as they are called; though most of them are, in fact, candidates only for the Scholarships, Fellowships, and fat livings in the Church, which are the sure rewards for obtaining "Honors." The University does not undertake to impart the instruction, but only to ascertain who, among many aspirants, are the most capable and most learned, — whether they have become so through the advantages previously enjoyed by them, or by their own efforts, or by private tuition since they became residents in a College. The candidates are prepared for the strife by a system of training which has sprung up outside of the proper work of the place, and which has been so largely and successfully developed, that it has completely dwarfed the latter and thrown it into the shade. It may be called the system of "cramming" by Private Tutors, who are not recognized by the University, but are merely suffered to continue their work under the necessary restriction of not interfering with the formal business of the place. The proper authorities of the institution assume no responsibility for these tutors, do not appoint them, and do not even designate the classes of its own members from whom they must be selected. Each student chooses, as his own private tutor, any Master of Arts, or any Bachelor, whom he deems capable of serving him in that capacity. If he is one of the few competitors for the highest honors and most lucrative appointments which are to be distributed in his year, he selects as his tutor one who has obtained like honors and appointments a year or two before. If he is less ambitious, a scholar of less note will serve his turn; if he wishes to graduate only "in the Poll," or among the crowd who seek ordinary degrees, one who has recently graduated in the same ignoble manner will best answer his purpose. He selects as the best guide one who has

just been over the very path which he proposes to follow. In the University slang, a private tutor is called "a coach," and his pupils, of whom he has usually five or six, are styled his "team." "The chief requisite of a Poll coach," Mr. Bristed informs us, "is patience, as his pupils are likely to be very stupid or very lazy, and in either case very ignorant; a man of any ability and knowledge going out in the Poll is able to be his own tutor for the occasion." This last statement, by the by, considering that a large majority of the students "go out in the Poll," is not very consistent with the following remark made in another place, and coupled with one of our author's frequent sneers against American professors.

> The private tutor "is by no means an 'aristocratic appendage,' as a wise professor on this side of the water once imagined; but an ordinary and almost necessary feature in the college life of every student, rich or poor."

The usual expense of employing a private tutor, whom the pupil attends for one hour each day, is fifty pounds (nearly $250) a year; Fellow Commoners pay more, and Sizars less. Consequently, a Fellow, or a Bachelor student who is reading for a Fellowship, is enabled to add twelve or fifteen hundred dollars to his income from this resource alone; and the opportunity of taking private students is to be added to the other pecuniary rewards which the University holds out to its successful pupils. The system is one which, in great measure, supports and perpetuates itself, without entailing much care or labor upon those who are placed in authority, and have the nominal charge of the whole concern. The Professors, as has been shown, do little or nothing; the Heads of Houses and Senior Fellows have either grown fat and indolent in the enjoyment of their beautiful rooms, fine gardens, and comfortable incomes, or their attention is wholly absorbed by their particular pursuits in literature or science, their part in the great work of obtaining and giving education having long since been played out. The maxim, *juniores ad labores*, is fully carried out at an English University. The College tutors and lecturers, the private tutors, and even the moderators and examiners, who conduct the great annual examinations, or prize-

fights, are generally chosen from the latest graduates, and a new generation of them come upon the stage at least as often as once in three or four years. There is an obvious reason for thus throwing the burden upon the younger men. Every year, the rivalship "for Honors" is so keen, and the efforts made by the competitors to extend and perfect their acquisitions, so as to ensure success, are so immense, that the standard of former years is quickly attained and passed. One who hopes to become a Senior Wrangler must know all that the Senior Wrangler of the preceding year can teach him, and not consider his chance a good one till he has added something even to these large acquisitions. In about three years, both these persons may have become moderators or examiners for the struggle then ensuing; and the range of questions and exercises then set by them will be sure to include all that they knew at the time of graduating, and whatever they may have since learned. Mr. Bristed tells us that a particular passage from a Greek or Latin author is often set to be translated for the sake of a single "catch," dependent upon a nice point of ambiguous or difficult construction. Under such a state of things, it is obvious that a generation of scholars is likely to become very soon superannuated. It is equally obvious that such discipline tends to render scholarship excessively minute; the examination papers nowadays show a great deal of what may be called infinitesimal learning.

The great vice of the system is, that it looks, not to any comprehensive and generous culture of all the thinking faculties, but only to the means, fair or unfair, of distancing all competitors at the great annual examinations, and thereby attaining the splendid rewards which the University is able to bestow. What the private tutors impart is not general instruction, nor any thing like it; it is a specific and laborious training for one narrow object, very much like that which an experienced jockey administers to the high-mettled colt that is expected to win the Derby for the year. Mr. Bristed's book throws unexpected light upon this point; and his evidence is the more valuable, as it comes from a decided partisan of the system, whose only purpose in writing is, to show the vast inferiority of the American plan of collegiate education,

and to recommend the English model for our adoption. He writes without seeing or even suspecting the conclusion that must be drawn from his own testimony. In defending the system of private tuition, he shows very conclusively that it forms an essential part of the English University system; that a scholar of the largest general attainments, and the most accurate knowledge of the classics and mathematics, would certainly be "floored" on the Cambridge examination papers, if he had not had a private tutor at his elbow, for some months at least before the trial, to point out the exact line of study that he ought to pursue in order not to "waste" time and effort upon subjects that would not come into play at the great ordeal; to teach him to write against time, as "pace," or speed, is a great element of success on these occasions; and to cram him with as many "dodges" in translation and extempore Greek and Latin versification as possible, besides supplying him with the means of opening many particular "catches" which would probably be set as traps for the uninitiated. We do not mean that there is any intentional unfairness in the mode of conducting the examinations; quite the contrary. The reputation of all the parties concerned depends on the scrupulous honesty, the even-handed justice, that is shown in every part of the proceedings; every possible precaution is taken to exclude favoritism and deception. A candidate understands very well, that his chance of success is not a whit improved even if his own private tutor happens, as is not unfrequently the case, to be one of the examiners. But putting aside all intentional unfairness, the habit of the University is so firmly fixed, the particular line of scholarship in which the candidates are expected to excel, and the general character of the tests by which he will be tried, are so peculiar, that there is no hope of success except by obtaining the guidance of a person who thoroughly knows the ground, and has very recently been over it. One who has an admirable knowledge of the geography of the whole earth may yet irrecoverably lose his way in a not very extensive forest. In such cases, a local guide is indispensable.

We will hear Mr. Bristed himself, as to the kind of *assistance*, for it hardly deserves to be called *instruction*, which is expected from these private teachers.

"To make up for former deficiencies, and to direct study so that it may not be wasted, are two *desiderata* which probably led to the introduction of private tutors, once a partial, now a general appliance. Now, it is true, that the extent of ground to be gone over in Classics is too great for any one who enters *very* deficient in them to be worked up by any means so as to take a good degree; yet even here a great deal may be done, and a very inaccurate and superficial knowledge be filled in and polished up to a surprising extent; while in Mathematics, the student who comes up knowing only his First-year subjects, but with a very good capacity for science, has time enough, under proper direction, to get a place among the first twenty Wranglers, or even the first ten. And it is through his tutor's aid that many a Classical man, who could never have passed of himself, saves his distance in Mathematics, or is even pushed into the Senior Optimés, so as to be qualified for a Medal; and that many a Freshman takes a First Class in the May Examination, and is thereby encouraged to go on reading for Honors, instead of being disgusted and killed off at the outset. Moreover, even for the subjects in which a student enters well prepared, the coach is most useful to keep him at his work and prevent him from losing ground. The daily or ter-weekly attendance has a beneficial effect in making the pupil work regularly, nor is the tutor in most cases at all slow to blow up any of his team who give signs of laziness. Indeed, this was an acknowledged requisite of a good coach. 'I am afraid of going to T——,' you may hear it said, 'he don't slang his men enough.' In working up a clever man whose previous training has been neglected, in cramming a man of good memory but no great brilliancy, in putting the last polish to a crack man and quickening his pace, so as to give him a place or two among the highest in either Tripos,— in such feats, *a skilful tutor will exhibit consummate jockeyship;* he seems to throw a part of himself into his pupil and work through him.

"The student reading with a Classical tutor, translates to him from some (prepared) author, brings him Composition prepared at home, and writes out in the tutor's rooms, examination fashion, both translations and compositions, which, after being corrected, are compared with the tutor's models. As much of the pupil's reading must be done by himself, the great object of the tutor is the Composition, but he also serves as a general commentator and last resort in difficulties; it is also his business to make selections of hard passages from authors whom the student may not have time or inclination to read the whole of, and to point out proper books for 'cram' and philological information.

"In Mathematics, examinations — that is, working examples and problems — are the principal exercise, most 'book-work' diffi-

culties being sufficiently explained in the books, though some tutors consider their own manuscripts better than any of the books, and make their pupils copy them. The men are continually writing out book-work, either at home or in their tutor's rooms; they practise it to get pace as well as accuracy.

"An ordinary tutor takes five or six pupils a-day, giving an hour to each. One of great celebrity will have twice as many, if a Classic, or four times as many, if a Mathematician. A mathematical tutor can drive a much larger team than a classical; the latter cannot well have more than three men construing to him at a time, nor can he look over and correct the Compositions of more than ten in a day with the care and accuracy desirable; the former can be making explanations and setting examples to a squad of eight or ten together. The one to whom I now resorted used to give his thirty pupils regular 'fights' as he called them; he would set ten or twelve of them to write out a paper on some subject, and give them marks for it just as in an examination; and the results of these *fights* papered the room during a whole term or vacation, till there was no place left on the walls for any more.

"The men who have taken the very highest degrees do not always make the best tutors. The most celebrated coach for high Mathematical men was a seventh Wrangler; our friend of the *fights* an eighth Wrangler." Vol. i. pp. 203 – 205.

There could not be a happier phrase than the one we here italicized; what is expected of a private tutor is nothing but good "jockeyship."

One mischievous effect of the system is, that it attributes a ludicrously exaggerated importance to some of the nicer refinements of learning, and has comparatively little appreciation of the depth of thought and world of matter which are contained in the Latin and Greek historians and philosophers. To an Englishman, a false quantity is like a breach of the Ten Commandments, and an ability to write polished Latin Alcaics by the hour, and without book, is a higher test of scholarship than a familiar acquaintance with all that Plato and Aristotle wrote or Homer sang. The examination papers for the Classical Tripos and the Trinity Scholarships, which Mr. Bristed has appended to his second volume, contain matter enough to illustrate this objection to the system, the full weight of which cannot be perceived without a thorough scrutiny of them. They are certainly formidable in

appearance; some of them — to adopt a phrase which shows the manners and the taste of the writer — "would probably astonish a whole roomfull of Yankee Professors." But the first impression which they make is altogether deceitful. Under skilful jockeyship, by subjecting oneself to what Mr. Bristed calls "a violent state of cram" for a year or so, it is comparatively easy "to get up," parrot-like, so large a store of niceties and out-of-the-way scraps of learning as to enable one, with ordinary good luck in the "catches" which happen to be set, to solve three fourths of them; and little more than that is expected even from a "First Class man." The only doubt would be, to any one who has just ideas of the proper aim of education, whether the play was worth the candle; — unless, indeed, a Fellowship of two or three hundred pounds a year for doing nothing, to be followed by a rich benefice in the Church, were to be the sure reward of success.

Again, the examination papers afford no index of the attainments even of the most distinguished men in the University, because not one of the competitors accomplishes all that is set forth in them, and only three or four perform much more than half of the work. Nominally, the grand trial at the close of the undergraduate course extends over the whole ground of the Latin and Greek classics, and requires a proficiency in composing, without book, Latin and Greek Prose, Greek Iambics, and Latin Alcaics, Hexameters, and Elegiacs. One of the papers gives twenty-seven lines of English blank verse to be translated into Greek Iambics in two hours and a half, — pen, ink, and paper being the only means allowed, as usual, for accomplishing the task. The passage is usually expanded into about thirty-five Greek lines; "and very few of the candidates finish them in the allotted two hours and a half. Sometimes a First Class man does not write more than fourteen." Another paper assigns thirty-three lines of English verse to be turned into Latin Hexameters, and eleven other lines into Latin Lyrics, in the same time. There were also two passages, equalling in length about a page and a half of this Review, to be turned respectively into Greek and Latin prose, two hours and a half being allotted to each. "Greek prose is the

hardest of all *composition*, and marked highest in the Tripos; there are seldom more than five or six men in a year who write it well." Mr. Bristed was one of the twenty-six competitors for classical honors this year, and came off "second in the Second Class." But as there were only six in the First Class, his position was a very respectable one, being that of the eighth classical scholar among those who entered into competition this year. Yet he intimates that he made a decided failure in Latin verse and Greek prose, one half of which went up "nearly illegible and without accents," and that his translations into English "disclosed some glaring mistakes; but every one makes mistakes, except now and then a Shrewsbury man."

The Classical Tripos is a voluntary trial at Cambridge, in which only those who choose to compete are examined, and with this restriction also, that none can enter who have not been placed at least as high as the third class, or among the Junior Optimés, at the preceding mathematical examination for Honors, which is the grand struggle of the year. This last examination occupies six days, twelve papers being given out, three of which contain, in all, about sixty problems to be solved; and in the other nine, questions are put which may be answered by "book-work," as it is called, or from recollection of what is contained in mathematical treatises. The "low questions," or those which are comparatively easy to be answered, are mostly contained in two papers only, which are given out on the first day; correct answers to these, and to four or five other low questions that are thrown into the work for the five succeeding days, will place the candidate among the Junior Optimés. "Probably fifty questions and eight average problems, so done as to get full marks, will bring a Questionist comfortably among the Wranglers;" that is, correct answers to about one third of the questions, and the solution of a seventh part of the problems, which are set, will give rank in the first class, or among the first third of the one hundred and thirty candidates for mathematical honors. But the whole number of graduates at Cambridge each year being about four hundred, it appears that only one in every ten among them attains even this degree of proficiency in mathematical studies.

"The unexpected award of the Senior Wranglership was the great surprise of the year, and subject of conversation for some time. It was said that the successful candidate had practised writing out against time for six months together, merely to gain pace, and had exercised himself in problems till they became a species of book-work to him, and thus he attained the prodigious rapidity in solving them which enabled him to do nineteen on one paper of three hours, thirteen on another, and nearly as many on the third, — more than two thirds of the whole number set. The Peterhouse man, [Second Wrangler,] who, relying on his combined learning and talent, had never practised particularly with a view to speed, and perhaps had too much respect for his work to be in any very great hurry about it, solved eight or nine problems leisurely on each paper, some of them probably better ones than the other man's, but not enough so to make up the difference in quantity. Both men floored all the early book-work, the Johnian presumably getting full marks, and T—— perhaps some extra marks for style. In the high work of the last two days, the Peterhouse man beat his opponent; but he could not have been very far ahead, as the Johnian did all but three questions out of the four papers, and came out on the result of the whole examination three hundred marks in advance.

"The disappointed candidate, however, was not without a chance of partially retrieving himself the very next week, in the examination for the Smith's Prizes, which is considered by the knowing ones a better test of excellence than the Tripos, as it embraces a higher classs of subjects, and the element of speed does not enter into it to such an extent. T——'s friends, as well as himself, awaited the result with a mixture of hope and fear. In the end, he had it all his own way, and beat the Senior Wrangler in the proportion of three to two. But this was a subsequent consolation; for the present, the triumph rested with the Johnians." Vol. i. pp. 325 – 327.

Mr. Bristed obtained rank among the Junior Optimés, or in the third class, though very near the foot of it; and says, "that of 143 candidates, 31 did less than myself; that is, less than the equivalent of twenty-four questions."

The range of studies at the two English Universities appears very limited. The principal examination at Cambridge is confined to Mathematics, and a Senior Wrangler *need not* know more Latin and Greek than is required for admission to an American college. At Oxford, on the other hand, the chief examination is in the Classics, and a First Class man is not obliged to carry

his mathematical studies beyond Simple Equations and the first two books of Euclid. The Oxford examination "for Honors" in mathematics "takes place subsequently, being a voluntary after the Classical examination; just as, at Cambridge, the Classical is a voluntary after the mathematical." In the former case, the candidates in mathematics are not numerous, being about twenty in a year; and the First Class "does not average more than three." At Cambridge, in Mr. Bristed's year, as we have seen, the volunteers for the Classical examination numbered twenty-six, and the First Class consisted of six. It is evident, then, that, at Oxford, nineteen twentieths of the students learn nothing but Latin and Greek; and at Cambridge, very nearly the same proportion learn Mathematics and little else. By the changes which have been made within the last three years, something has been done towards remedying this great defect. In the one case, three "Schools" have been established, of Mathematics, of Natural Science, and of Modern History and Law, and the graduating student is examined in the elements of at least one of them, in addition to his Classical studies, before receiving a degree. At Cambridge, it has been provided that the student shall attend, for at least one term during his undergraduate course, the lectures of one Professor, taking his choice out of thirteen who are enumerated. Two new "Triposes," of the Moral Sciences and the Natural Sciences, have also been established, and placed on the same footing as the Classical Tripos; that is, any member of the graduating class may volunteer to be examined in either of these three Triposes, *after* passing with a certain degree of credit through the mathematical ordeal, to which all, in a greater or less degree, are subjected. Mr. Bristed justly remarks, however, that "the want of pecuniary stimulus, either direct or indirect, to the successful candidates, will probably prevent either of the two new Triposes from soon becoming popular." This want, however, will be remedied in time; and Dr. Whewell has already led the way by founding two annual prizes, of fifteen guineas each, for the two who pass the best examination in Moral Philosophy.

Most of those who graduate with very high honors at either University usually continue in residence, and pursue

their studies, with a view of competing for a Fellowship, which may be obtained with greater or less difficulty, according to the number of vacancies and of competitors presenting themselves from the respective Colleges in which these vacancies exist. In most of the small Colleges, a high Wrangler or a First Class man is almost sure of obtaining one with little trouble. At Trinity, and some of the other large establishments, the competition is still very spirited, as any one who has obtained a Scholarship during his undergraduate course may offer himself for examination once a year during the three years which intervene between taking a Bachelor's and a Master's degree; and not more than one Scholar out of three can be appointed. The candidates who are reading for a Fellowship usually act as private tutors, and in this way defray most of their expenses. We subjoin Mr. Bristed's account of a Fellowship examination at Trinity, where, however, it is far more severe, and success in it is consequently more honorable, than at the smaller Colleges, or at Oxford, where the larger part of the Fellowships are *close*.

"The Examination consists of Classics, Mathematics, and a number of subjects conveniently comprehended under the title of Metaphysics.

"The Classical Examination nearly resembles that of the Classical Tripos. The Composition is about the same in amount, but the Translation papers are only three in number, two Greek and one Latin; and there is a long paper of general questions in Ancient History, Antiquities, Philology, Civil Law, &c. — a "cram" paper in short. One extract from the Greek verse paper is to be translated into English verse. Under these circumstances, a man who has taken a high Classical degree rather seeks to review and polish up, than enlarge, his reading; but a Mathematician, especially if he has come to the University tolerably well prepared in Classics, and temporarily neglected them to read Mathematics for his Degree, will often extend his knowledge of Greek and Latin considerably. A Mathematician *very* deficient in Classics stands little chance, unless he be firstrate indeed in his branch, and also very good on the Metaphysical paper. I imagine Classics weigh at least as much as the other two together.

"There are only two Mathematical papers, and these consist almost entirely of high questions; what a Junior Op. or low

Senior Op. can do in them amounts to nothing, and the Classical men usually cut them entirely.

"The third branch of the examination comprises several subjects more or less connected among themselves.

"1st. The History of Metaphysics. I say the *History* of Metaphysics, because an explanation of the theories of different schools rather than a support of any particular one is expected.

"2d. Moral Philosophy, considered not only in an historical, but also in a practical and, so to speak, polemical point of view.

"3d. Political Economy, considered, like Metaphysics, rather in an historical than a partisan light.

"4th. International Law.

"5th. General Philology.

"It is possible that questions are sometimes set on this paper not strictly reducible to any of the above heads. It intentionally covers a great deal of ground, one of its objects being to bring out clever men and men of general and, at the same time, deep reading beyond the immediate sphere of Classical and Mathematical studies. Except in Moral Philosophy, there is no preferred class of opinions. In Ethics, the dominant school was *anti-Paley* — that of the *independent moralists*, as they were called at Cambridge, among whom Butler occupies a high rank, and Whewell, as one of his interpreters, no contemptible one. No particular opinions being prescribed in the other subjects, there are of course no particular text-books — no substantially similar courses of reading for all candidates. The only works which can come under this category are, Dr. Whewell's *History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, and *Moral Philosophy, including Polity.* His double position as Professor of Casuistry in the University, and Master of the College, has procured him this distinction, and you may always be sure of finding several questions set from his books.

"In general, the *Greek* and *English* authors are those most attended to. Plato and Aristotle, in their ethical, metaphysical, and political speculations, come in for a large share of attention; and with them, consequently, their historians and commentators, particularly Ritter. Cudworth is a favorite author. Mill's Logic became a standard work immediately on its publication. The older Scotch Metaphysicians are not in high repute. Cousin is read to some extent; Comte, I fancy, not much. The German Transcendentalists are not very deeply dipped into; most men were afraid of them. The Trinity receipt for getting up Kant was, 'read the first forty pages of the "Kritik," *and the Index.*' There are generally two or three men who acquit themselves very stylishly on this paper, and cover a great extent of ground

in the three or four hours allotted to it. An acquaintance of mine, who stood first in Metaphysics, and gained his Fellowship by it, confined himself chiefly to one question, an ethical one — in discussing which, he took up and answered, piece by piece, a recent article in the Edinburgh which had attracted his attention. Probably the paper which he sent in would have made a respectable pendant both for quantity and quality to that which had suggested it. Another man, who was second in the same examination, wrote up not only all the paper, but all the *ink*, within his reach.

"The average age of taking the B.A. may be set down at twenty-two years and three months, so that a Trinity man usually borders upon twenty-five when he attains the dignity of Fellow. The Fellowships are tenable for seven years from the time of taking the M.A. to such of the Fellows as do not go into Orders; those who do, may hold them till death or matrimony. For a Barrister, this seven years' Fellowship is just the thing, as it gives him a support (£200 a year) long enough to start him in his profession, and carry him past thirty, by which time he has usually begun to do something if he ever means to; nor are the two or three years spent in procuring it by any means wasted, the training being in many respects calculated to fit him for his vocation." Vol. i. pp. 388 – 391.

This brief account of the English University system does not enable us to perceive the vast inferiority of the American Colleges, upon which Mr. Bristed lays so much stress. That there are a few features in it which might be profitably copied here, we shall endeavor to show; but as a whole, we cannot consider it worthy of imitation or of much respect. With much smaller means, with endowments that are not comparable to those of the English Universities, the Colleges in this country actually accomplish more. They actually give instruction and enforce study, which, for any practical purpose, or to any appreciable extent, the English Universities do not. The academical year with us comprises about forty weeks, or is twice as long as in England; and during the whole of this period, the students are required to attend lectures and "recitations," on an average, for at least three hours a day; and the time which must be given to make even a tolerable preparation for these exercises, and which actually is given by the major part of the students, amounts to at least three hours more. The ambitious students, who

compete with each other for such "honors" as the College has to bestow, — no immediate pecuniary rewards, however, stimulating their exertions, — number probably one in ten among the undergraduates, and devote about twice as much time, or six hours a day, either to preparation for these exercises, or to collateral studies. The range of studies is certainly too great, as we believe that in the English Universities to be too limited; something more than Latin and Greek, with the elements of pure Mathematics, and something less than an entire *curriculum* of the Physical and Moral Sciences, added to two of the ancient and two of the modern languages, would furnish a proper amount of intellectual exercise for the three or four years of undergraduate life. The great number and variety of studies in an American college is doubly unfortunate, on account of the youthfulness of the students. Very few enter at Oxford or Cambridge under the age of eighteen; in this country, perhaps one half of the whole number are admitted when they are under sixteen. The undergraduate course, it is true, is a year longer than in England, so that the difference of age at the time of graduating does not exceed two years. But even this is too much; and certainly, the system which condemns one who has not yet assumed the American *toga virilis*, or long-tailed coat, to the study, at one time, of the Differential Calculus, the Greek Drama, Mechanical Philosophy, Metaphysical Science, Political Economy, and Constitutional Law, is both injurious and absurd. The evil, so far as it depends on the youthfulness of the students, is probably irremediable; the circumstances of the country, the nature of our institutions, and the habits of the people imperatively require the great majority of students to be prepared for their professional pursuits, or other active duties of life, as soon as they have attained the age of legal freedom. It would be wise, then, to adapt our collegiate system to this necessity; only such studies, and so many of them, should form a part of it, as can be properly mastered between the ages of sixteen and twenty years.

The different appropriation of the College funds is the source of most of the peculiarities of the two collegiate systems. In England, as we have seen, the immense

endowments of the Universities are given almost exclusively to the support of Scholarships, Fellowships, and other rewards of learning. The meagre funds of the Colleges in this country are devoted entirely to keeping up the means of instruction, — to the salaries of the teachers, the enlargement of the buildings, and the purchase of apparatus and books. It is difficult, indeed, to obtain donations or bequests for any other purpose, — except, indeed, the support of beneficiary students, for which end, funds are most frequently contributed to independent societies, which retain the exclusive management of them, and send the students whom they patronize to such institutions as they may select. Harvard College alone has as many Professors as either Oxford or Cambridge; though the whole number of its members who are *in statu pupillari*, including the students in its professional schools, is but little over 600, or about one fourth of the number at either of the English Universities. It has ample means of instruction, therefore; not one of these Professorships is a sinecure. The incumbents of most of them are constantly and laboriously engaged in the active business of tuition; and there are ten assistant instructors and tutors, who are equally diligent and effective in their calling.

If it were considered desirable to change the whole constitution of the College, and to form it strictly upon the English model, there would be no obstacle in the way, except from the appropriation of the funds by the will of the donors. Change the Professorships to sinecures, take away all the salaries that are now paid for tuition, or leave only enough to support a couple of tutors, and convert the whole remaining income of the College to founding as many Scholarships, Fellowships, and other rewards of learning, as it would suffice to establish. Give up all attempts to impart instruction; or, for the sake of preserving the mere form, require the two tutors to lecture, each for one hour in the day, on a Greek classic and a mathematical subject, to any who may be disposed to hear them. Institute elaborate semi-annual examinations, one in the Greek and Latin languages, including all the refinements of philology and the illustrations of classical literature, and the other in pure Mathematics and their application to the mixed sciences; allowing all to

enter and compete who have had their names upon the College books, and have paid all college dues, for at least three years. These examinations should be conducted in writing, and a tenth part of the questions proposed should relate only to the elements of classical and mathematical learning, so that any student, after qualifying himself to enter College, could be prepared, by a few months of cramming under a private tutor, to answer them. All who could pass this portion of the ordeal should receive a bachelor's degree; while the honors and emoluments belonging to the endowed Fellowships and Scholarships should be awarded, in the order of merit, to those who most distinguished themselves throughout the fiery trial. Many of these would continue in residence, in order to pursue their professional studies, or to act as private tutors, in which capacity they would virtually give all the instruction that would be needed to keep the whole affair in operation.

Such would be the English system ingrafted on an American College; and however repugnant it may appear to our notions and habits, it would be a great mistake to consider it as altogether one-sided, inefficient, or corrupt. In some respects, it would be an improvement, though not, we think, a very marked one, on the American plan. The few who really profit by it attain a thoroughness and accuracy of scholarship, and an exact discipline of the mental faculties, with a power of application, and a ready command of their acquisitions, which only long-continued training in classical and mathematical studies, under a strong stimulus to exertion, can impart. The misfortune is, that there are so few who actually receive these advantages, — that vastly the greater number obtain no benefit whatever from their University education beyond what is unconsciously imbibed, as it were, from the atmosphere of the place. Under the American system, the results are more uniform; more instruction is given, and more study is enforced upon the whole body of the students. Some preparation, however slight, must be made for each of the exercises; and from three hours of attendance every day, for forty weeks of the year, upon the lectures and recitations in the sciences and languages, to say nothing of the written exercises that are

required, the most indolent and careless student must derive some substantial benefit. At the same time, the regular exercises do not occupy so large a portion of the day, but that the more industrious and capable have abundant opportunity for their private studies or cultivating their peculiar tastes. It is true, that no great incitement to exertion is afforded by the meagre honors which the College is able to bestow; and this, we consider, is one of the two great defects of the system, the other being the great diversity and multiplication of the studies. The English University system, in both respects, errs in just the opposite direction. So great reliance is placed upon the strong stimulus which is held out for private study, that the University hardly attempts to teach any thing; and the field for exertion is too limited, the Classics and Mathematics alone being too narrow a basis for what may fairly be called a *liberal* education. These defects seem to be acknowledged in England, so far as we can judge from the attempts which have recently been made to amend them. All the changes that have been effected within the last three years, both at Oxford and Cambridge, look to an enlargement of the sphere of study, and to an increase, or rather to a commencement, of official instruction by the authorities of the place. One new regulation, as Mr. Bristed remarks, has been made "by way of giving the Professors something *more* to do;" and the physical and moral sciences have been fairly introduced into the University course, though as yet they occupy but a small corner of it. But Cambridge now teaches something more than Mathematics and Paley, and Oxford something more than Euclid and Logic.

We cannot say that any attempt is making to remedy the defects of the American system; on the contrary, the changes recently made here look precisely the other way. They tend to aggravate the evil, and to reduce our Colleges to the level of High Schools. A demand is constantly preferred to adapt even the higher institutions of education to the practical character of the age, and to the wants, or rather to the opinions, of the people; and too many of our Colleges are inclined to listen to this demand. In several instances, so many branches of what is considered to be "useful learning" have been crowded

into the course, that a voluntary system has necessarily been established to make room for them, and each student is allowed to select the studies which are best adapted to his tastes, his caprices, or his future occupation in life. Thus the proper idea of a liberal education is lost sight of; a College is no longer a home of liberal studies and a place for intellectual discipline, where the mind may receive that general culture which is the only effectual preparation for specific studies and professional pursuits. If this system should be universally adopted, the study of the ancient languages must finally be abandoned, and even that of Mathematics must in a great measure be given up, or limited to the few who expect to become astronomers or engineers. "This favorite notion," says Dr. Arnold, "of filling boys with useful information is likely to be productive of great mischief. It is a caricature of the principles of inductive philosophy, which, while it taught the importance of a knowledge of facts, never imagined that this knowledge was of itself equivalent to wisdom. Now, it is not so much our object to give boys 'useful information,' as to facilitate their gaining it hereafter for themselves, and to enable them to turn it to account when gained."

Admitting this to be a correct view of the purpose of a liberal education, it is obvious that our older Colleges are already amply endowed with the means of instruction. They are already able to teach more than the pupils have time or inclination to learn. To endow a new Professorship in them is to confer a very doubtful benefit. It is only to increase a range of studies that is already too extended, and to distract the student's mind by a variety of occupations and inquiries, instead of concentrating it upon a single object, — the equal and healthful development of intellect by a series of exercises specially adapted to that end. It is the boast of those who have received an English University education, — and, for a few ambitious scholars, the boast is certainly a well-founded one, — that, however inferior they may appear in general knowledge at the time of graduating, owing to their exclusive devotion while in College to the Classics and Mathematics, their minds are developed so rapidly afterwards, that, in a few years, the loss is more than made

good. A broad and deep foundation has been laid, and the superstructure rises easily and without effort. Long accustomed to severe application and vigorous mental effort, well disciplined in the intellectual gymnastics which the experience of centuries has approved as the only firm basis of a liberal and thorough education, minor difficulties vanish before them, and lighter studies become a mere amusement. A modern language is acquired as the diversion of a few idle hours; and the several departments of natural and moral science only open a field for pleasant excursions, and gratify a liberal curiosity.

The great want of American Colleges at the present day is the endowment of a moderate number of Scholarships and Fellowships, for the encouragement of liberal studies. It may be frankly admitted, that the tendencies of the country and the age are not friendly to such studies, and they must gradually die out if they be not more carefully fostered. The ambition of undergraduates is now too much directed to the career that awaits them outside of the College walls. The cares and anxieties of manhood are projected forward into the period which ought to be solely occupied with the preparation for its duties. To limit this forecast, and contract the horizon of boyish ambition, the College itself must be able to offer something to contend for, — some prizes within the walls, to be won by what is, after all, a nobler contest than any of those which await us in the crowded thoroughfares of the world without, — prizes of intellectual distinction, the competition for which is free and generous, being neither deformed by party spirit, nor darkened by manœuvring and deceit. Additional incitements are needed, especially for the prosecution of those studies which are peculiarly academic in character, and which, though they are the basis of all thorough intellectual training, have but an indirect connection with the business of the active world and the student's future success in life. The establishment of prizes for excellence in them, to be won by open competition, and to be enjoyed through some years of continued residence, that might be given to professional studies or general literary pursuits, would elevate the whole tone of scholarship in the institution and the country at large. Very large en-

dowments would not be needed for these ends. The fund for establishing a single Professorship would found three Fellowships or half a dozen Scholarships. If devoted to the former purpose, it would answer no other object than that of adding one to a list of studies which are already too numerous and varied to be crowded into a four years' course of study. But if distributed among these lesser foundations, it would increase the efficiency and activity of every department of the institution. Those who obtained these distinctions would have the pecuniary aid which they might need for the prosecution of their studies, without being degraded by the necessity of accepting it from a beneficiary fund. Only the capable and industrious would thus be assisted; and we have great doubts whether it is a judicious exercise of charity to defray the expenses of all who are desirous of obtaining a liberal education, whether they manifest character and ability or not. One of the worst consequences of the original destination of most English Fellowships to the support of the Church is, that many are tempted, for the sake of retaining their college preferments, to take holy orders, when their opinions, tastes, and previous habits have wholly unfitted them for the sacred calling. Mr. Bristed's book contains some striking disclosures upon this point. But we have no right to dwell upon them, as there is too much reason to believe that a similar evil has arisen in this country, from the operations of societies for educating young men for the Christian ministry. Better a thousand times that our pulpits should remain unoccupied, than that they should be filled by purchasing the services of the incompetent, the vicious, or those who are secretly inclined to skepticism! If the funds which are liable to be thus abused were given to raising suitable endowments in our Colleges, which would insure support to all who merited it by proficiency in learning, none would be attracted either into the ministry or the other liberal professions except by their unbiased choice, and none would be excluded by the accidents of fortune, unless they were disqualified by Providence for the work.

We had intended to examine some of Mr. Bristed's exaggerated and calumnious statements respecting the inferior scholarship of the American Colleges. But as

they obviously relate to the single institution which he knows any thing about, and as he has unwittingly exposed the true character of his own pretensions to be a critic, by printing abundance of Greek, almost every line of which exhibits misplaced accents and other blunders, his strictures may be allowed to pass without particular notice. We shall not do the Senior Classic of Cambridge University in 1840 the injustice to believe, that he made as many errors in writing the copy of Greek Anapæsts here published as Mr. Bristed has committed in printing them; and we shall not consider the well-merited reputation of the instructors in Yale College as at all damaged by his vague charges and flippant criticisms. When he states that "the first lesson" which a student learns at an American College "is to despise his teachers," and that he hears it generally said there, that "the College *appointees* [he means 'those who have obtained College honors,] are for the most part poor, dull fellows, who never do any thing to distinguish themselves in after life, that an appointment is only worth taking as a mere extra if it can be got without taking much trouble for it, and that *writing* and *speaking* are the only proper objects of his ambition," he describes a state of opinion among the undergraduates wholly unlike any thing we have ever witnessed or even heard of; and our opportunities of observation have been considerably more extensive than those which Mr. Bristed has enjoyed. But when we learn further, from his own cool admission, that one year which he spent at New Haven was occupied chiefly in reading "a dozen newspapers a day," and talking politics with a young Mississippian, "the only tangible residuum from our debates being a pretty large bill for cakes, ice-cream, and sherry cobblers," we readily admit that he may have chosen his associates from a certain class of young men, to be found in every College, whether in Europe or America, who actually entertain, or affect to entertain, the very opinions which he here imputes to them. With such taste in selecting his circle of intimate friends, the only wonder is, that he did not give an equally flattering account of the state of opinion in an English University.

ART. III. — *The Works of* DANIEL WEBSTER. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1851. 6 vols. 8vo.

THESE volumes have been edited with all the care and ability which the importance of their contents required. The selection that they contain of the works of Mr. Webster is made with admirable taste and judgment, and the annotations and illustrative matter are just enough to elucidate and explain the text, without burdening it with superfluous commentary or the repetition of familiar facts. Large as the compass of the publication may appear, it embraces only a selection from the fruits of Mr. Webster's long and active career as a lawyer, a legislator, and a statesman. Enough has been omitted to establish the reputation of any one not belonging to the first class of public men; yet enough is retained to present a full view of the author's opinions on all the great public questions which have been agitated in his day, and of what is most characteristic in his style both of thought and expression. Mr. Webster has shown the careless generosity of a great mind in reference to the fate of his works after they had served the immediate purpose for which they were prepared. We believe the larger portion of the contents of these volumes has never been reduced by him to writing, but has been hurriedly caught up by reporters as it fell from his lips, and, in many cases, has been published even without the benefit of his revision of the press. His memorable reply to Mr. Hayne, for instance, which may fairly be called the greatest specimen of parliamentary eloquence and logical power that has been heard by any deliberative assembly in modern times, would have been, to a considerable extent, lost to all who had not the privilege of listening to it, if it had not been for the zeal and ability of Mr. Gales, the editor of the National Intelligencer, and probably the ablest parliamentary reporter that America has ever had. The speech itself shows that no part of it could have been written out before delivery; and Mr. Gales's report of it was in Mr. Webster's hands for revision only a portion of one day. When we remember how much care and labor Edmund Burke gave to the preparation of his great par-

liamentary speeches for the press, so much indifference as Mr. Webster manifests about his own reputation merely as a writer and a debater seems the more astonishing. But it is characteristic of him. Rhetoric, even in the largest and highest meaning of that word, he seems never to have made an object of study or special effort; it is invariably employed by him as a means, never as an end. The thing to be proved, or the thing to be done, stands so much higher in his estimation than the manner of saying or doing it, that the latter nearly sinks out of sight. Of no one can it be more truly said, that his words are deeds. And in this peculiarity, as we shall endeavor to show, is one secret of his power.

Even the collections of his speeches that have been published from time to time, and have passed through several editions, have been chiefly formed by others. The present one, which is far the most complete, and comes down to the present time, has been published mainly under the supervision of Mr. Edward Everett, whose editorial taste and skill, as well as his thorough knowledge of the political history of the period to which these works belong, have left little cause to regret that the publication was not superintended by Mr. Webster himself. In the careful but modest Biographical Memoir prepared by Mr. Everett, and prefixed to the work, it is stated that "the responsibility of deciding what should be omitted and what included has been left by Mr. Webster to the friends having the charge of the publication, and his own opinion on details of this kind has rarely been taken." The Memoir itself was intended to contain only "a condensed view of Mr. Webster's public career, with a few observations by way of commentary on the principal speeches." But the subject, even under these limitations, covers so much ground, that a very concise treatment of it extends over one hundred and sixty pages; and there are few readers that would not willingly have it longer. We copy the concluding portion of the Memoir, only as a specimen of the temperate and tasteful manner in which the whole is written.

"Such, in a brief and imperfect narrative, is the public life of Mr. Webster, extending over a period of forty years, marked by the occurrence of events of great importance. It has been the

aim of the writer to prevent the pen of the biographer from being too much influenced by the partiality of the friend. Should he seem to the candid not wholly to have escaped that error, (which, however, he trusts will not be the case,) he ventures to hope that it will be forgiven to an intimacy which commenced in the youth of one of the parties and the boyhood of the other, and which has subsisted for nearly half a century. It will be admitted, he thinks, by every one, that this career, however inadequately delineated, has been one of singular eminence and brilliancy. Entering upon public life at the close of the first epoch in the political history of the United States under the present Constitution, Mr. Webster has stood below none of the distinguished men who have impressed their character on the second.

"There is a class of public questions in reference to which the opinions of most men are greatly influenced by prejudices founded in natural temperament, early association, and real or supposed local interest. As far as such questions are concerned, it is too much to hope that, in times of high party excitement, full justice will be done to prominent statesmen by those of their contemporaries who differ from them. We greatly err, however, if candid men of all parties, and in all parts of the country, do not accord to Mr. Webster the praise of having formed to himself a large and generous view of the character of an American statesman, and of having adopted the loftiest standard of public conduct. They will agree that he has conceived, in all its importance, the position of the country as a member of the great family of nations, and as the leading republican government. In reference to domestic politics, it will be as generally conceded, that, reposing less than most public men on a party basis, it has been the main object of his life to confirm and perpetuate the great work of the constitutional fathers of the last generation.

"By their wisdom and patriotic forethought we are blessed with a system in which the several States are brought into a union so admirably composed and balanced, — both complicated and kept distinct with such skill, — as to seem less a work of human prudence than of Providential interposition.* Mr. Web-

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* "'This idea is beautifully expressed in the following passage of a late letter from Mr. Webster in reply to an invitation from the citizens of Macon, Georgia: —

"The States are united, not consolidated;

'Not, chaos-like, together crushed and bruised,
But, like the world, harmoniously confused,
Where order, in variety we see;
And where, though all things differ, all agree.'"

ster has at all times been fully aware of the evils of anarchy, discord, and civil war at home, and of utter national insignificance abroad, from which the formation of the Union saved us. He has been not less sensible to the obstacles to be overcome, the perils to be encountered, and the sufferings to be borne, before this wonderful framework of government could be established. And he has been firmly persuaded that, if once destroyed, it can never be reconstructed. With these views, his political life has been consecrated to the maintenance in all their strength of the principles on which the Constitution rests, and to the support of the system of government created by it.

"The key to his whole political course is the belief that, when the Union is dissolved, the internal peace, the vigorous growth, and the prosperity of the States, and the welfare of their inhabitants, are blighted forever, and that, while the Union endures, all else of trial and calamity which can befall a nation may be remedied or borne. So believing, he has pursued a course, which has earned for him an honored name among those who have discharged the duty of good citizens with the most distinguished ability, zeal, and benefit to the country. In the relations of civilized life, there is no higher service which man can render to man, than thus to preserve a wise constitution of government in healthful action. Nor does the most eloquent of the statesmen of antiquity content himself with pronouncing this the highest human merit. In that admirable treatise on the Republic, of which some precious chapters have been restored to us after having been lost for ages, he does not hesitate to affirm, that there is nothing in which human virtue approaches nearer the divine, than in establishing and preserving states: "neque enim ulla res est, in qua propius ad deorum numen virtus accedat humana, quam civitates aut condere novas aut conservare jam conditas.'" Vol. i. pp. clviii. – clx.

Such a Memoir was needed for the explanation of the text. The contents of these volumes are so intimately connected with the history of the country for the last thirty years, that they could not be thoroughly understood without a recapitulation of the public events which attended them, either as their causes or consequences. During the whole of this period, Mr. Webster's works have had a marked influence on our public policy both at home and abroad. He has done more than any one man to shape and guide this policy, and to determine the public opinion on which it rested. At every crisis in our national affairs, whether in diplomacy, war, the state of trade or

the currency, or the conflict of parties, his course has been watched with deep interest in every part of the Union, and his counsels, explanations, or remonstrances have been awaited with eager curiosity and expectation. The influence they have had has not depended on Mr. Webster's position either as in office or out of it, nor has it been limited to the political party to which he belonged. The intrinsic weight of his opinions, and the great ability with which they have been set forth and defended, have often caused the balance to incline, when most other circumstances were setting it in the opposite direction. And the result has vindicated the sagacity of his counsels, even when they were not followed. Few statesmen could bear to have their opinions and their conduct, on many trying occasions, for a long period of public service, so fully developed as are those of Mr. Webster in this publication. Nothing has been suppressed; his whole course in the Senate and the administration is here arrayed in light, and exposed to the minutest scrutiny. Politicians may differ as to the wisdom of his course in respect to the great subjects that are still agitating the nation, and about which the verdict of history is not yet made up. So, many doubted on former occasions; but time has dissipated their fears, or convinced them of their error. And in relation to those measures which are no longer discussed in the national councils or before the people, and the true character of which has been determined by their results, how few are the doubts and prejudices that remain, or who asks that the question may be argued over again, or the experiment renewed? On most matters of domestic policy, such as the currency, the tariff, internal improvements, the construction of the Constitution, and the management of the public lands, Mr. Webster's course is now reflected in the opinions of thinking men all over the country. And it is his reasonings, in great part, which have convinced them, and have marked out the large features of a comprehensive American policy. In the conduct of our foreign relations, his triumph over the passions and mistakes of the hour has been still more splendid. Who now doubts the wisdom and the expediency, in every particular, of the treaty negotiated with Lord Ashburton, which averted the imminent peril of a war

with Great Britain, and preserved the peace of the world? Yet what a storm of excited prejudices and conflicting opinions attended the settlement of every question that was determined by that treaty, and how many obstacles impeded its ratification as a whole! Then came the dispute about Oregon, as the last and most serious difficulty to be adjusted with England; and though Mr. Webster was then not a member of the administration, and his voice had no legal effect or official influence, he marked out, months beforehand, what must be the precise terms of the adjustment, and the great moral weight attached to his opinion in both countries caused those terms to be accepted. On matters of less moment, growing out of our foreign relations, which were still topics of exciting discussion at the time, the measures which he advocated have become the settled policy of the nation. In his speeches on the Greek question and the Panama Mission, and in his official correspondence with the governments of Spain and Mexico, his dignified and clear exposition of international law and the foreign policy of the United States has erected landmarks and beacons along nearly every route which the future statesmen of the country may have occasion to explore.

We are speaking of the results of Mr. Webster's works, because, as has been intimated, these results must be taken into view before we can form any fair and complete estimate of the works themselves. His wish is, that the speeches and the correspondence should be judged by the character of the measures and the policy which they were designed to support. At least, we infer that this is his wish, on account of the rigorous exclusion of all matter which does not tend directly to the establishment of the point at issue. Mr. Webster is no declaimer, no rhetorician, not even, in the common sense of that phrase, a popular orator. His aim is not to please, but to convince. He never rises in flights of prepared rhetoric, he makes no studied appeals to the feelings. We cannot even imagine him sitting down calmly at home, as the Greek rhetoricians, as Lysias and Isocrates, and even as a greater than they, the chief of Roman orators, often did, to polish periods, and prepare elaborate orations to order. His most successful efforts have been made when he

had least opportunity for preparation. In the course of a vehement and rapid discussion in the Senate, when great interests were at stake and fierce passions excited, when every weapon of attack and defence needed to be used at a moment's warning, his vast resources of thought and argument are most successfully developed. He needs the excitement of such a scene to stimulate his powers and give vehemence and energy to his logic. Not that he is by any means a mere gladiator in debate, prompt to give or take offence, and enjoying personal controversy. On the contrary, he moves in too lofty and calm a sphere to be affected by the angry passions of the moment, and a consciousness of power gives a sustained dignity to his manner, which is usually an effective shield against the assaults of his opponents. On the few occasions when the rashness of an adversary has overstepped the limits of courteous debate, Mr. Webster, without descending to vulgar invective, has yet retorted with a terrible severity, that has left no inclination to repeat the experiment. It is the excitement arising from the cause and from the magnitude of the question at issue, rather than from his personal concern in the affair, which calls forth all the energies of the great senator. He needs a real occasion, and one of grave and far-reaching importance, when there is a prospect that something positive can be effected by a great effort, before he can summon all his strength to the trial. The factitious occasions, that are so easily created in this country, for a popular harangue, are comparatively lost with him. To borrow an illustration from Dr. Johnson, he is a Phidias that can hew a Colossus out of a rock, but he cannot carve a Cupid's head out of a cherry stone.

The rigid method and practical, business character of Mr. Webster's speeches appear not only in the exclusion of mere ornament and rhetorical devices, but in avoiding all affectation of profound remark and philosophical reflection. He seldom generalizes, uses none of the technical terms of philosophy, and deals not in brilliant apophthegms. Yet it is not from lack of resources in this particular that he is so chary. On the few occasions which have afforded him scope for broad remark on the philosophy of history and the polity of states, as in the

Centennial Oration at Plymouth and in the debates in the Massachusetts Convention for revising the Constitution, many passages, for profundity and comprehensiveness of thought and sagacity of observation, rival the wisest sayings of Montesquieu or Mackintosh. In the Oration, the reflections on the vast, but silent, political influence of laws regulating the descent of property, contrasting the English system of primogeniture and entail with the equal distribution that is enforced in France and is customary in America, and terminating with the bold prophecy, that if the French "government do not change the law, the law in half a century will change the government," are not surpassed in political sagacity by the most striking things in Bacon or Burke. This prophecy was uttered ten years before the revolution of 1830; the convulsions of 1848 followed; and the remark of a letter-writer quoted by Mr. Everett is perfectly just, that "Mr. Webster's prophecy seems still to be in the course of a portentous fulfilment."

We might quote largely from the Plymouth Oration and a few other addresses and speeches in these volumes, to illustrate the wise and broad views which Mr. Webster has taken as a philosophical statesman; but the passages are so familiar to most readers that we forbear. In each case, it would be found that such remarks are introduced only on account of their strict subserviency to the principal topic that the writer had in view. And therefore, in his speeches in Congress, and the political harangues delivered before assemblages of the people, this vein of general remark is very seldom introduced; we find nothing but the severe and methodical development of the subject allotted to the occasion. We know of no higher proof than this of the sincerity and earnestness of a statesman and orator. It is, perhaps, because there is so little of it in the ordinary style of American eloquence, that this trait in Mr. Webster attracts more notice and admiration. The English House of Commons is justly famed for its severe taste in practical oratory, and for the business character of its debates. Yet even there, Sir James Mackintosh "spoke essays," and indulged in general disquisition; and Burke, in the last century, delivered those brilliant but discursive philosophical orations, which

operated like a dinner-bell, it is true, in dispersing his hearers, but which are read with mingled astonishment and delight.

But if all extraneous matter is thus resolutely excluded from Mr. Webster's speeches, wherein consist the power and the charm which unquestionably attend them, and which are attested by the effects they produce? These effects are altogether too great to be attributable, except in a slight degree, to the merely physical qualities of the speaker, — to his deep and powerful voice, commanding figure, and eyes gleaming in their cavernous recesses under a brow that strikes the beholder with awe from its majestic development. The reader of these speeches escapes this portion of the spell which controls the hearer of them. Yet the chaste and austere style of Mr. Webster is as much appreciated by the former as the latter; while the two are equally moved by the vigor of his reasoning, and by the brief, but grand and fervid, appeals to the loftier sentiments of our nature with which he enforces the lesson that his argument has previously taught. Only a combination of the highest qualities of thought and expression could give to speeches so severely chastened their decisive effect over the convictions and feelings of men. The compact, brief, and nervous logic of his discourse sweeps onward with overwhelming force and rapidity, the simple and massive diction forging the links together, and stamping upon them a visible impress of the strength and tenacity of the material employed. The lofty tone which Mr. Webster habitually assumes in discussion harmonizes admirably with the feeling of sublimity that always attends the exhibition of vast strength; and the vehemence of the speaker, as he kindles with the expansion of his theme, deepens this emotion into awe. No break, no digression, no intrusive image or allusion, impairs the harmony of the effect; the whole impression is that of overpowering earnestness and colossal power. The easy and continuous flow of speech adds to this impression of great strength and boundless resources; the stream pours onward in full volume, as if fed from an exhaustless fountain. "*Erat in verbis gravitas, et facile dicebat, et auctoritatem naturalem quandam habebat oratio.*"

We cannot adduce extracts to justify our remarks, for the vigor and nobleness of such eloquence can with difficulty be seen in detached parts. There are few striking passages which stand apart, and can be separated from the context without losing half their power; to judge fairly, we must take the whole piece. We will quote but one passage as an illustration of Mr. Webster's manner in a single particular, namely; his rigid exclusion of collateral topics and discursive matter, which might charm the ear or stir the prejudices of the hearer, without at all affecting the basis of his convictions.

Few subjects have been more passionately discussed in Congress or among the people at large than the question about the exclusion of slavery from the Territories; on the determination of it depend the future balance of power between the North and the South, and the responsibility which the National Government must assume as to the continuance and diffusion of the institution itself. It is, therefore, a tempting subject of discursive debate; all considerations relating to the historical, moral, and political aspects of slavery may be brought into the discussion, and used to fan the popular excitement respecting it on the one side or the other. As far back as 1837, Mr. Webster had declared his invincible determination never to consent to a further extension of the area of slavery, or to an increase of the number of slaveholding States; adding, however, that "slavery, as it exists in the States, is beyond the reach of Congress," and that "all the stipulations contained in the Constitution in favor of the slaveholding States which are already in the Union ought to be fulfilled, and, so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled, in the fulness of their spirit and to the exactness of their letter." This resolution he had repeated during the debate respecting the admission of Texas, and in several speeches delivered during the progress of the Mexican war. But he contented himself with this declaration of opinion, and entered into no argument upon the subject. In August, 1848, however, when a bill to organize a government for the Territory of Oregon was under discussion, a debate arose upon this point, and Mr. Webster made a brief argument to prove that the exclusion of slavery from the newly acquired Territories would not be unjust or

injurious to the South, or deprive the people there of any advantage which they could rightfully claim, and which was enjoyed by the rest of the Union. The following is an extract from his speech.

"We stand here now, at least I do, for one, to say, that, considering there have been already five new slave-holding States formed out of newly acquired territory, and only one non-slave-holding State, at most, I do not feel that I am called on to go further; I do not feel the obligation to yield more. But our friends of the South say, You deprive us of all our rights. We have fought for this territory, and you deny us participation in it. Let us consider this question as it really is; and since the honorable gentleman from Georgia proposes to leave the case to the enlightened and impartial judgment of mankind, and as I agree with him that it is a case proper to be considered by the enlightened part of mankind, let us see how the matter in truth stands. Gentlemen who advocate the case which my honorable friend from Georgia, with so much ability, sustains, declare that we invade their rights, that we deprive them of a participation in the enjoyment of territories acquired by the common services and common exertions of all. Is this true? How deprive? Of what do we deprive them? Why, they say that we deprive them of the privilege of carrying their slaves, as slaves, into the new territories. Well, Sir, what is the amount of that? They say that in this way we deprive them of the opportunity of going into this acquired territory with their property. Their "property"? What do they mean by "property"? We certainly do not deprive them of the privilege of going into these newly acquired territories with all that, in the general estimate of human society, in the general, and common, and universal understanding of mankind, is esteemed property. Not at all. The truth is just this. They have, in their own States, peculiar laws, which create property in persons. They have a system of local legislation on which slavery rests; while everybody agrees that it is against natural law, or at least against the common understanding which prevails among men as to what is natural law.

"I am not going into metaphysics, for therein I should encounter the honorable member from South Carolina,* and we should find "no end, in wandering mazes lost," until after the time for the adjournment of Congress. The Southern States have peculiar laws, and by those laws there is property in slaves. This is purely local. The real meaning, then, of Southern gentlemen, in making this complaint, is, that they cannot go into the territories

* Mr. Calhoun.

of the United States carrying with them their own peculiar local law, a law which creates property in persons. This, according to their own statement, is all the ground of complaint they have. Now here, I think, gentlemen are unjust towards us. How unjust they are, others will judge; generations that will come after us will judge. It will not be contended that this sort of personal slavery exists by general law. It exists only by local law. I do not mean to deny the validity of that local law where it is established; but I say it is, after all, local law. It is nothing more. And wherever that local law does not extend, property in persons does not exist. Well, Sir, what is now the demand on the part of our Southern friends? They say, 'We will carry our local laws with us wherever we go. We insist that Congress does us injustice unless it establishes in the territory in which we wish to go our own local law.' This demand I for one resist, and shall resist. It goes upon the idea that there is an inequality, unless persons under this local law, and holding property by authority of that law, can go into new territory and there establish that local law, to the exclusion of the general law. Mr. President, it was a maxim of the civil law, that between slavery and freedom, freedom should always be presumed, and slavery must always be proved. If any question arose as to the *status* of an individual in Rome, he was presumed to be free until he was proved to be a slave, because slavery is an exception to the general rule. Such, I suppose, is the general law of mankind. An individual is to be presumed to be free, until a law can be produced which creates ownership in his person. I do not dispute the force and validity of the local law, as I have already said; but I say, it is a matter to be proved; and therefore, if individuals go into any part of the earth, it is to be proved that they are not freemen, or else the presumption is that they are.

"Now our friends seem to think that an inequality arises from restraining them from going into the territories, unless there be a law provided which shall protect their ownership in persons. The assertion is, that we create an inequality. Is there nothing to be said on the other side in relation to inequality? Sir, from the date of this Constitution, and in the counsels that formed and established this Constitution, and I suppose in all men's judgment since, it is received as a settled truth, that slave labor and free labor do not exist well together. I have before me a declaration of Mr. Mason, in the Convention that formed the Constitution, to that effect. Mr. Mason, as is well known, was a distinguished member from Virginia. He says that the objection to slave labor is, that it puts free white labor in disrepute; that it causes labor to be regarded as derogatory to the character of the free white

man, and that the free white man despises to work, to use his expression, where slaves are employed. This is a matter of great interest to the free States, if it be true, as to a great extent it certainly is, that wherever slave labor prevails free white labor is excluded or discouraged. I agree that slave labor does not necessarily exclude free labor totally. There is free white labor in Virginia, Tennessee, and other States, where most of the labor is done by slaves. But it necessarily loses something of its respectability, by the side of, and when associated with, slave labor. Wherever labor is mainly performed by slaves, it is regarded as degrading to freemen. The freemen of the North, therefore, have a deep interest in keeping labor free, exclusively free, in the new territories.

"But, Sir, let us look further into this alleged inequality. There is no pretence that Southern people may not go into territory which shall be subject to the Ordinance of 1787. The only restraint is, that they shall not carry slaves thither, and continue that relation. They say this shuts them altogether out. Why, Sir, there can be nothing more inaccurate in point of fact than this statement. I understand that one half the people who settled Illinois are people, or descendants of people, who came from the Southern States. And I suppose that one third of the people of Ohio are those, or descendants of those, who emigrated from the South; and I venture to say, that, in respect to those two States, they are at this day settled by people of Southern origin in as great a proportion as they are by people of Northern origin, according to the general numbers and proportion of people, South and North. There are as many people from the South, in proportion to the whole people of the South, in those States, as there are from the North, in proportion to the whole people of the North. There is, then, no exclusion of Southern people; there is only the exclusion of a peculiar local law. Neither in principle nor in fact is there any inequality." Vol. v. pp. 307 – 310.

The reasoning here is as calm, lucid, and cogent as if the subject had never agitated the country with the fiercest political strife that has raged for many years. The remainder of the speech, which occupies only nine pages in this publication, is equally quiet, dignified, and forcible; it has not a declamatory sentence, or a single appeal to the passions, from beginning to end. Yet the speaker does not affect unconsciousness of the paramount interest and importance of the subject at issue. In his usual lofty tone, he says, "I am glad that the honorable gentleman proposes to refer this question to the great tribunal

of Modern Civilization. It is proper. It is a question of magnitude enough, of interest enough, to all the civilized nations of the earth, to call from those who support the one side or the other, a statement of the grounds upon which they act." He then proceeds to state the grounds of his action in the speech from which the preceding extract is taken, and which, after all that has been written and spoken about the Wilmot Proviso, contains the only proper *argument* upon the subject that we have ever seen.

Perhaps the best specimens of Mr. Webster's vigorous and comprehensive reasoning, which becomes really eloquent only from its compactness and strength, may be found in his diplomatic correspondence. The qualities of his mind and the general character of his composition are admirably adapted to this class of papers. His grave and elevated tone, rising with the magnitude of the interests that are discussed, and with the dignity of the nation of whom, for the time, he is the accredited representative, seems to add greater precision to his masterly statements of the points at issue, and additional weight to the arguments with which he supports his country's cause. When the circumstances require some affront to be noticed, or some injurious imputation to be repelled, the sheathed sarcasm or lofty rebuke falls with merciless severity on the offender. His recent correspondence with the minister of Austria became famous almost by accident, through the casual direction of popular sympathy towards the cause which it was here Mr. Webster's duty to defend; there was a general thrill of pleasure when the chord of public feeling was so skilfully touched, and the sentiment of the nation obtained dignified and fitting utterance. Yet the letters to M. Hülsemann, ably written as they are, can hardly sustain comparison with many other communications which the writer has made to foreign governments; — with the letters to M. de Bocanegra, for example, or the whole correspondence with Lord Ashburton, or the decided rebuke administered to one of our own ministers for arrogating to himself a right to interfere in that correspondence. In these, there was a right to be vindicated, or a pretension to be repelled, upon the principles of international law, and amid a crowd of conflicting authorities and national jealousies. Mr. Webster's

share in this correspondence has commanded the applause of the civilized world; there is nothing in the records of diplomacy to match it. He has not only vindicated his country's claims upon particular points that had been disputed for half a century, but has enlarged and perfected the code itself that regulates the intercourse of nations, by harmonizing its provisions, and establishing, on an immovable basis, some of its doctrines that had nearly lost their authority. The great principle, especially, that every vessel is a part of the territory of the nation to which she belongs, and carries its sovereignty along with her, upon the high seas, or even into a friendly foreign port, so far that the rights and obligations of all on board can be determined only under the jurisdiction and by the laws of that nation, without any interference of the local or foreign law, may now be regarded, thanks to Mr. Webster's exertions, as permanently established in the law of nations. It can never be impugned but by the exertion of arbitrary will and superior strength.

We have placed most stress upon the argumentative power displayed in Mr. Webster's speeches and papers, not because they are deficient in the other attributes of eloquence, but because these other attributes are always made subservient to the reasoning and to the great purpose which it is the object of the speaker or the writer to advocate and defend. Strong and even passionate feeling produces on him its usual effect on every mind of large powers and comprehensive culture, by stimulating the fancy and the imagination, and calling up all the stores of memory to the illustration of his subject. Sometimes, a trope, conveyed in a single word, flashes a broad light over the whole theme which he has been laboring to inculcate. Oftener, the fancy ceases to dwell on separate points in a description, and brings up, by a few bold touches, a whole picture to the mind's eye, which stirs the feelings as strongly as if the real scene were stretched out to view in all the amplitude of its details. Still a severe taste governs the selection of the particulars which are to be communicated; nothing is overwrought, and all that might shock the sensibilities, or create mere disgust, is carefully suppressed. The kindled imagination of the hearer is left to supply the details that

must not be spoken. Mr. Webster never offends in the same manner as Mr. Burke, who often runs down his images into loathsomeness and deformity. But this fault there is little danger of committing when the picture is never followed for its own sake, but is steadily kept subordinate to the object of the whole piece. The orator who aims chiefly to affect the understanding must not dally too long with sensible images; for then he may command the admiration of his audience, but he will not gain his cause. We will quote but one descriptive passage from Mr. Webster's works, as a specimen of the simplicity of his manner, and of the distinctness that may be attained without exaggeration or a heaping up of particulars. It is taken from the masterly speech on the trial of Knapp for the murder of Captain Joseph White. It forms a part of the introduction to that speech, Mr. Webster's object being to obtain a control of the sympathies of the jury, before proceeding to analyze the evidence against the accused.

"The deed was executed with a degree of self-possession and steadiness equal to the wickedness with which it was planned. The circumstances now clearly in evidence spread out the whole scene before us. Deep sleep had fallen on the destined victim, and on all beneath his roof. A healthful old man, to whom sleep was sweet, the first sound slumbers of the night held him in their soft but strong embrace. The assassin enters, through the window already prepared, into an unoccupied apartment. With noiseless foot he paces the lonely hall, half lighted by the moon; he winds up the ascent of the stairs, and reaches the door of the chamber. Of this, he moves the lock, by soft and continued pressure, till it turns on its hinges without noise; and he enters, and beholds his victim before him. The room is uncommonly open to the admission of light. The face of the innocent sleeper is turned from the murderer, and the beams of the moon, resting on the gray locks of his aged temple, show him where to strike. The fatal blow is given, and the victim passes, without a struggle or a motion, from the repose of sleep to the repose of death! It is the assassin's purpose to make sure work; and he plies the dagger, though it is obvious that life has been destroyed by the blow of the bludgeon. He even raises the aged arm, that he may not fail in his aim at the heart, and replaces it again over the wounds of the poniard! To finish the picture, he explores the wrist for the pulse! He feels for it, and ascertains that it beats

no longer! It is accomplished. The deed is done. He retreats, retraces his steps to the window, passes out through it as he came in, and escapes. He has done the murder. No eye has seen him, no ear has heard him. The secret is his own, and it is safe!" Vol. vi. p. 53.

This is fine and impressive word-painting; but it only prepares the way for the magnificent passage which follows, on the Providential means by which the guilt of the murderers was brought to light, and the principal assassin was driven to suicide by the insupportable consciousness of his crime.

"Ah! Gentlemen, that was a dreadful mistake. Such a secret can be safe nowhere. The whole creation of God has neither nook nor corner where the guilty can bestow it, and say it is safe. Not to speak of that eye which pierces through all disguises, and beholds every thing as in the splendor of noon, such secrets of guilt are never safe from detection, even by men. True it is, generally speaking, that 'murder will out.' True it is, that Providence hath so ordained, and doth so govern things, that those who break the great law of Heaven by shedding man's blood seldom succeed in avoiding discovery. Especially, in a case exciting so much attention as this, discovery must come, and will come, sooner or later. A thousand eyes turn at once to explore every man, every thing, every circumstance, connected with the time and place; a thousand ears catch every whisper; a thousand excited minds intensely dwell on the scene, shedding all their light, and ready to kindle the slightest circumstance into a blaze of discovery. Meantime the guilty soul cannot keep its own secret. It is false to itself; or rather it feels an irresistible impulse of conscience to be true to itself. It labors under its guilty possession, and knows not what to do with it. The human heart was not made for the residence of such an inhabitant. It finds itself preyed on by a torment, which it dares not acknowledge to God or man. A vulture is devouring it, and it can ask no sympathy or assistance, either from heaven or earth. The secret which the murderer possesses soon comes to possess him; and, like the evil spirits of which we read, it overcomes him, and leads him whithersoever it will. He feels it beating at his heart, rising to his throat, and demanding disclosure. He thinks the whole world sees it in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the very silence of his thoughts. It has become his master. It betrays his discretion, it breaks down his courage, it conquers his prudence. When suspicions from without begin to embarrass him, and the net of circumstance to

entangle him, the fatal secret struggles with still greater violence to burst forth. It must be confessed, it will be confessed; there is no refuge from confession but suicide, and suicide is confession." Vol. vi. pp. 53, 54.

This passage brings out one of the characteristic features of Mr. Webster's eloquence, — his lofty and solemn inculcation of great moral truths and the principles of religion. He has been an attentive student of the Scriptures, and the majestic phraseology of Hebrew poetry often tinges his grave and massive enunciation of the eternal principles of truth and right with a deep religious earnestness, of which the ancient classic orators had no conception, and which the moderns have never surpassed. Sometimes, the sentiment rises into passion in the fervid denunciation of wrong; and then, only the inspiration of one of the old Hebrew prophets, glowing with anger at the sins of the people, could pour forth a grander flood of religious rebuke. The long argument delivered before the Supreme Court at Washington, in the winter of 1844, against the validity of Mr. Girard's will, abounds with passages of this character; but we will not quote them, because they tend so directly to prove the main point which the speaker was laboring to establish, that they might be met with a sneering allusion to a lawyer's readiness to support any thesis on which depended his client's cause. The incidental references to moral and religious obligation, which abound in the other speeches in these volumes, are not open to this objection; and we know of nothing more solemn and impressive than the sentiment which pervades them, or the unaffected earnestness and depth of conviction which they manifest. The tones and manner of the speaker, so admirably adapted to subjects of this class, will never be forgotten by those who had the good fortune to hear them when first delivered.

On the whole, Mr. Webster's eloquence is more remarkable for fervor of sentiment and depth of feeling, than for richness of imagery or imaginative power. No one has a greater contempt for the barren shows of oratorical and poetic phraseology, or for the mere illusions of fancy. If the imagination is ever allowed to take wing, as in the magnificent description, — which we do not quote only because it has been already quoted a thousand times, —

of the vast extension of British power, under the image of the martial music of England following the sun around the whole circumference of the globe, — it is but a momentary flight of the poetic feeling which pervades all true eloquence, and the firm tramp of the argument is resumed as steadily as if it had not quitted the earth for an instant. Generally, every thing is sacrificed to "clearness, force, and earnestness;" and whatever might call away the attention of the hearer from the main subject of discourse to admiration of the speaker's powers is cautiously avoided. But the characteristics of Mr. Webster's most impassioned manner can be described only by himself, in the celebrated passage on true eloquence, which has become a commonplace of declamation in the schools, and will be remembered as long as the English language endures.

"When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech farther than as it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities that produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object, — this, this is eloquence; or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence, it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action." Vol. i. pp. 131, 132.

But after all, we cannot regard Mr. Webster merely as an orator and debater, great as his merits are in both respects, without doing him much injustice. These volumes, indeed, belong to the imperishable portion of American literature, and will be studied as long as any taste remains to appreciate the models of eloquence that have come down to us from classic times, or those which were first delivered in the British Parliament and Westminster Hall. But the occasions on which most of Mr. Webster's speeches and arguments were made, and the themes on which they dwell, invite us irresistibly to consider him as a statesman and a public man, — as one whose opinions and genius have shaped our national policy, and determined many of the features of the great system of public law under which we live. There is much, in the contemplation of his active public life, to humble the mere pride of letters and the triumphs of rhetorical skill. It is the end to which great powers are applied, and not the excellence merely of the means employed, which confers the only true honor and the only undying reputation. The praise that is due to the patriot statesman, whose views are limited to the promotion of his country's welfare by the noblest arts that minister to the prosperity of states, is the highest object of human ambition. We believe a larger measure of such praise will be accorded to Mr. Webster by future generations even than he has received from his contemporaries. Some of the very causes which have obstructed his popularity in his own day will increase it in the estimation of posterity. Thus, he has never been a dexterous political tactician. No party in the country has ever called itself by his name, and he has made no efforts to rally such a party. Though acting generally with one of the great political divisions of the people, he has acknowledged no blind and unscrupulous allegiance to it, but has fearlessly pursued the course that his own judgment and conscience dictated, when either the policy of its leaders, or the passions of the hour operating on the multitude, pointed in an opposite direction. Conscious of pure and lofty motives, and fully aware of the paramount importance of the interests which he was laboring to promote, he has sternly disregarded the censures of those who formerly

acted in concert with him, instead of endeavoring to pacify or allay the feelings which produced them. So it was when he remained in Mr. Tyler's cabinet, for the purpose of concluding the Ashburton Treaty, after his former colleagues had deserted him, and the voice of his party throughout the country called upon him to resign. But he persevered, meeting the obloquy which his course provoked with grim patience and sternness; and hardly two years had elapsed before the opinion, not only of his own party, but of all parties, became almost unanimous, that his withdrawal at the time when it was demanded, would have been a great calamity to his country and to the world.

Equally magnanimous and independent has been Mr. Webster's course in respect to local politics and the great questions on which different States and geographical divisions of the people have been arrayed against each other. He has been emphatically a national statesman, and has refused to acknowledge any difference between North and South, or East and West, when he has judged that the interests of the whole country or the requirements of the Constitution made it imperative to overlook such distinctions. It was natural for him to adopt this course at an early period, and to pursue it with unwavering determination; the native bent of his genius towards large plans and far-reaching views, and all the associations growing out of his public career pointed in that direction. With the exception of ten days' membership of the legislature of Massachusetts, and of a few weeks in the Convention for revising the Constitution of that State, his whole term of public service has been given to the General Government. As a lawyer, also, the greater part of his practice has been in the courts of the United States. His attention, therefore, has been principally given to national subjects, or to questions affecting the collective interests of the whole country, rather than to the politics of individual States. The independence of his course has also been favored by the circumstance, that he has never had occasion to solicit public office, but his services in the councils of the nation have been sought with eagerness and importunity, either by the State or the party to which he belonged. He has often been in-

duced by them to forego his determination to retire from political life, though this change of purpose involved a considerable sacrifice of his private interests. We are not surprised, therefore, to hear from him on many occasions language as manly and dignified as that which follows; though very few American politicians could utter it with impunity.

"I ascribe nothing but the best and purest motives to any of the gentlemen, on either side of this chamber, or of the other house, who take a view of this subject which differs from my own. I cannot but regret, certainly, that gentlemen who sit around me, and especially my honorable colleague, and my friends from Massachusetts in the other house, are obliged, by their sense of duty, to oppose a measure which I feel bound by my conscience to support to the utmost of my ability. They are just as high-minded, as patriotic, as pure, and every way as well-intentioned as I am; and, Sir, if it was put to vote, and the question were to be decided by a majority, I must confess my friends from Massachusetts would outvote me. But still my own opinions are not in the least degree changed. I feel that every interest of the State, one of whose representatives I am, as well as every great interest of the whole country, requires that this measure, or some measure as healing, composing, and conciliatory as this, should be adopted by Congress before its adjournment. That is my object, and I shall steadily pursue it." Vol. v. pp. 419, 420.

"It has become, Sir, an object of considerable importance in the history of this government, to inquire how far instructions, given *ex parte* and under one state of circumstances, are to govern those who are to act under another state of circumstances, and not upon an *ex parte* hearing, but upon a hearing of the whole matter. The proposition, that a member of this government, in giving a vote to bind all the country, is to take as his instructions the will of a small part of the country, whether in his own State or out of it, is a proposition that is above or below all argument. Where men are sworn to act conscientiously for the good of the whole, according to their own best judgment and opinion, if the proposition is asserted that they are, nevertheless, bound to take the individual opinion of a few, and be exclusively bound by that opinion, there is no room for argument; every man's moral perception, without argument, decides on such a proposition. I know, Sir, that in a popular government like ours, instructions of this sort will be given, and pledges required. It is in the nature of the case. Political men in this country love the people; they love popular applause and promotion, and they

are willing to make promises; and, as in other sorts of love, so in this, when the blood burns, the soul prodigally lends the tongue vows. It is especially the case in some States, in which, in electioneering contests, instructions become little constitutions, which men vow to support. These instructions are often given under circumstances very remote from those that exist when the duty comes to be performed; and, I am sorry to say, they are often given on collateral considerations." Vol. v. pp. 423, 424.

"Local divisions are apt to warp the understandings of men, and to excite a belligerent feeling between section and section. It is natural, in times of irritation, for one part of the country to say, If you do that, I will do this, and so get up a feeling of hostility and defiance. Then comes belligerent legislation, and then an appeal to arms. The question is, whether we have the true patriotism, the Americanism, necessary to carry us through such a trial. The whole world is looking towards us with extreme anxiety. For myself, I propose, Sir, to abide by the principles, and the purposes which I have avowed. I shall stand by the Union, and by all who stand by it. I shall do justice to the whole country, according to the best of my ability, in all I say, and act for the good of the whole country in all I do. I mean to stand upon the Constitution. I need no other platform. I shall know but one country. The ends I aim at shall be my country's, my God's, and Truth's. I was born an American; I will live an American; I shall die an American; and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career. I mean to do this, with absolute disregard of personal consequences. What are personal consequences? What is the individual man, with all the good or evil that may betide him, in comparison with the good or evil which may befall a great country in a crisis like this, and in the midst of great transactions which concern that country's fate? Let the consequences be what they will, I am careless. No man can suffer too much, and no man can fall too soon, if he suffer or if he fall in defence of the liberties and Constitution of his country." Vol. v. pp. 437, 438.

We have intentionally quoted those passages only which do not indicate the question or occasion on which these declarations were made. They show the spirit and the principles upon which Mr. Webster has acted in reference to *all* questions, sometimes carrying his immediate constituents and his party along with them, but leaving them without hesitation when his sense of duty to the whole country made such an abandonment necessary,

and waiting patiently for his policy to be justified by its results. Certainly, no American statesman has earned a better right to adopt the lofty language which Mr. Burke addressed to his constituents at Bristol: — "I did not obey your instructions; No. I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest against your opinions with a constancy that became me. A representative worthy of you ought to be a person of stability. I am to look, indeed, to your opinions; but to such opinions as you and I *must* have five years hence. I was not to look to the flash of the day. I knew that you chose me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the state, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every popular gale." It needed little courage, indeed, except upon the eve of a contested election, to avow such sentiments in England in 1780; for the doctrine that the representative is bound by the wishes of his constituents has never obtained currency on English ground, and, down at least to the passage of the Reform Bill, it was very generally denounced as slavish and unprincipled. But it does require great daring and firmness to avow and act upon the doctrine here, where the development of the Democratic principle has nearly crowded out the Representative Republic altogether. But Mr. Webster has steadfastly adhered to it from first to last. The language already cited is taken from a speech delivered in 1850; twenty-two years earlier, on occasion of a public dinner given to him by the citizens of Boston as a mark of respect for his Senatorial services, just after he had voted in favor of a measure which was opposed by his colleague in the Senate, by the Representative from Boston in the lower House, and probably by a large majority of the people of Massachusetts, he made the following remarks.

"This manifestation of favor and regard is the more especially to be referred to the candor and kindness of the meeting on this occasion, since it is well known, that in a recent instance, and in regard to an important measure, I have felt it my duty to give a vote, in respect to the expediency and propriety of which considerable difference of opinion exists between persons equally entitled to my regard and confidence. The candid interpretation

which has been given to that vote by those who disapproved it, and the assembling together here, for the purposes of this occasion, of those who felt pain, as well as those who felt pleasure, at the success of the measure for which the vote was given, afford ample proof, how far unsuspected uprightness of intention and the exercise of an independent judgment may be respected, even by those who differ from the result to which that exercise of that judgment has arrived. There is no class of the community for whose interests I have ever cherished a more sincere regard, than that on whose pursuits some parts of the measure alluded to bear with great severity. They are satisfied, I hope, that, in supporting a measure in any degree injurious to them, I must have been governed by other paramount reasons, satisfactory to my own conscience; and that the blow inflicted on their interests was felt by me almost as painfully and heavily as it could be by those on whom it immediately fell." Vol. i. pp. 164, 165.

We need only add, as a proof of Mr. Webster's sagacity and foresight, that the measure thus defended by him in 1828, against the opposition of his colleagues and a majority of his constituents, was the Tariff of that year, embodying the policy now adopted almost with one voice by the people of Massachusetts. That the independence of his course is not owing to any want of local attachments, or any indifference as to the opinions of those whom he most nearly represented, may be seen from the following glowing eulogium upon Massachusetts, contained in the very same speech from which the sternest of the preceding extracts is taken. It is a fine specimen of his most dignified and impressive manner.

"Mr. President, it has always seemed to me to be a grateful reflection, that, however short and transient may be the lives of individuals, states may be permanent. The great corporations that embrace the government of mankind, protect their liberties, and secure their happiness, may have something of perpetuity, and, as I might say, of earthly immortality. For my part, Sir, I gratify myself by contemplating what in the future will be the condition of that generous State, which has done me the honor to keep me in the counsels of the country for so many years. I see nothing about her in prospect less than that which encircles her now. I feel that when I, and all those that now hear me, shall have gone to our last home, and afterwards, when mould may have gathered upon our memories, as it will have done upon our tombs, that State, so early to take her part in the great contest of

the Revolution, will stand, as she has stood and now stands, like that column which, near her Capitol, perpetuates the memory of the first great battle of the Revolution, firm, erect, and immovable. I believe, Sir, that, if commotion shall shake the country, there will be one rock for ever, as solid as the granite of her hills, for the Union to repose upon. I believe that, if disasters arise, bringing clouds which shall obscure the ensign now over her and over us, there will be one star that will but burn the brighter amid the darkness of that night; and I believe that, if in the remotest ages (I trust they will be infinitely remote) an occasion shall occur when the sternest duties of patriotism are demanded and to be performed, Massachusetts will imitate her own example; and that, as at the breaking out of the Revolution she was the first to offer the outpouring of her blood and her treasure in the struggle for liberty, so she will be hereafter ready, when the emergency arises, to repeat and renew that offer, with a thousand times as many warm hearts, and a thousand times as many strong hands." Vol. v. p. 436.

But Mr. Webster's course has been national in a higher sense. His large and generous patriotism has been evinced, not only by his disregard of party divisions and local jealousies when higher interests and duties were in view, but by the thoroughly American tone of his feelings, opinions, and conduct. No statesman ever more thoroughly identified himself with his country's principles, tendencies, and aims; no one has comprehended more perfectly the spirit of our institutions, has mastered more completely their history, or labored more effectually to give them their due development. He has left the impress of his own strongly marked character upon our legislation, our jurisprudence, and the system of managing our foreign relations. The treaties that he has negotiated, and the diplomatic papers that he has written, have marked out the great features of this system almost with as much precision as they have traced the northern boundary of our territory. By his masterly exposition and defence of the true doctrines of the Constitution, he has won for himself a place by the side of the honored founders of the Republic, and has taken rank with Hamilton, Madison, Marshall, and Jay, in the service of modelling the institutions of the country, while he has surpassed them in the brilliancy of his execution. The character of every new system of government, even when it rests ostensibly

upon a written form, is as much determined by the practical exposition that it receives during the early period of its existence, or by the manner in which it is allowed to work, as by the precise words in which it is defined and described. Every written instrument must be interpreted; and he who interprets a law often does as much to prescribe its scope and nature, as he who makes it. Mr. Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana was one of those practical interpretations of the Constitution which draw after them a longer train of momentous consequences than any single clause or article in the original instrument. In like manner, but to a still greater degree, the South Carolina doctrine that the Constitution is only a compact between sovereign States, each one having acceded to it with a reserved right to secede whenever it should deem secession to be expedient, and to nullify any law which it regarded as contrary to the terms of the compact, if it had been established, would have changed the whole aspect and mode of operation of our government. And there was imminent danger for some time that this doctrine would be established. It was advocated with great ability by Calhoun and Hayne, and by the whole party that favored the largest extension of State rights; it was seemingly countenanced by the spirit of the Virginia resolutions of 1798, which had Mr. Madison for their author; it flattered State pride and harmonized with democratic instincts; it opened a door by which any member of the Union might escape from the operation of any law of the General Government which it believed to be prejudicial to its separate interests, and therefore held to be unconstitutional. No political heresy was ever broached which seemed to have so fair a chance of success; none was ever more insidious in its pretensions and outward seeming, or more deadly in its consequences; for, practically, it needs no argument to prove that it tended to strip the National Government of all authority, to render it incapable of exercising its functions, and to dissolve the Union.

But notwithstanding all the circumstances in its favor, the doctrine did not prevail; it failed utterly and ignominiously; it found no acceptance beyond the limits of the State where it originated. And the credit of de-

feating it and prostrating its supporters is due almost exclusively to the colossal power and invincible determination of Mr. Webster. In our admiration of the vast intellectual resources, the logical and rhetorical ability, displayed in his replies to Mr. Hayne and Mr. Calhoun, we are prone to forget the magnitude of the cause which he then defended, and how momentous was to be the issue of the strife. It was no tournament with blunted lances, in which the combatants aimed only to show their own dexterity in arms, and a lady's smile was to be the only guerdon of the victor. The fate of a whole system of government, the future welfare of the country, were wavering in the balance; the destinies of the republic were at stake. It was a cause of incalculable importance, tried before a most august tribunal. Twenty-four "sovereign States," as Mr. Hayne loved to call them, were present, through their representatives, in the Senate chamber, to hear and adjudge the contest. Demosthenes defending Ctesiphon and himself, Cicero accusing Verres, or Burke impeaching Warren Hastings in Westminster Hall, had not a more weighty interest to uphold, or a nobler court in which to plead. The cause which was then gained by Mr. Webster was virtually gained forever. It was comparatively little that the heresy of Nullification was beaten down for the moment; it was so effectually crushed that no political jugglery can ever renew its pernicious existence, or galvanize it into seeming activity. The verdict which was then rendered, after a full hearing of the cause, was a final one; it established the true meaning of the Constitution, and fixed the character of the government under which we live.

Mr. Webster's first argument on the subject was made in the Senate in January, 1830. Three years afterwards, in February, 1833, he delivered his second speech on the same topic, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, who had resigned the office of Vice-President of the United States, and entered the Senate as Mr. Hayne's successor, in the vain hope of causing the verdict rendered by the whole country against the doctrine of Nullification to be reversed. The speech which he made for this purpose is generally admitted to have been his greatest effort in debate. Before he had fairly resumed his seat, Mr. Webster commenced

his argument in reply, briefly exposing, in its first paragraph, the futility of Mr. Calhoun's endeavor.

"Among the feelings which at this moment fill my breast, not the least is that of regret at the position in which the gentleman has placed himself. Sir, he does himself no justice. The cause which he has espoused finds no basis in the Constitution, no succor from public sympathy, no cheering from a patriotic community. He has no foothold on which to stand while he might display the powers of his acknowledged talents. Every thing beneath his feet is hollow and treacherous. He is like a strong man struggling in a morass: every effort to extricate himself only sinks him deeper and deeper. And I fear the resemblance may be carried still farther; I fear that no friend can safely come to his relief, that no one can approach near enough to hold out a helping hand, without danger of going down himself, also, into the bottomless depths of this Serbonian bog." Vol. iii. pp. 449, 450.

The calm confidence here expressed in the strength of his cause and the sufficiency of his own resources is admirably sustained by the precise statements and invincible logic of the remainder of the speech, which virtually closed the debate upon Nullification forever. The subject has not been revived as a Constitutional question, and never can be, till Mr. Webster's arguments can be blotted from the record and from the memory of his countrymen. We quote a portion of the exordium of the speech, not because it can give any idea of the weight of the argument as a whole, but as a specimen of Mr. Webster's close and severe style of reasoning, and of his rigid exclusion of mere ornament and discursive rhetoric when his only object is to convince the understandings of his hearers. He takes no advantage of the unpopularity of his opponent's cause, and arrogates no merit to himself for the service he is rendering to the Constitution. The first resolution introduced by Mr. Calhoun affirmed that the political system under which we live and the Congress assembles is "a *compact*, to which the people of the several States, as separate and sovereign communities, are *parties*." Mr. Webster remarks, —

"It is true, Sir, that the honorable member calls this a 'constitutional' compact; but still he affirms it to be a compact between sovereign States. What precise meaning, then, does he attach to the term *constitutional?* When applied to compacts between

sovereign States, the term *constitutional* affixes to the word *compact* no definite idea. Were we to hear of a constitutional league or treaty between England and France, or a constitutional convention between Austria and Russia, we should not understand what could be intended by such a league, such a treaty, or such a convention. In these connections, the word is void of all meaning; and yet, Sir, it is easy, quite easy, to see why the honorable gentleman has used it in these resolutions. He cannot open the book, and look upon our written frame of government, without seeing that it is called a *constitution*. This may well be appalling to him. It threatens his whole doctrine of compact, and its darling derivatives, nullification and secession, with instant confutation. Because, if he admits our instrument of government to be a *constitution*, then, for that very reason, it is not a compact between sovereigns; a constitution of government and a compact between sovereign powers being things essentially unlike in their very natures, and incapable of ever being the same. Yet the word *constitution* is on the very front of the instrument. He cannot overlook it. He seeks, therefore, to compromise the matter, and to sink all the substantial sense of the word, while he retains a resemblance of its sound. He introduces a new word of his own, namely, *compact*, as importing the principal idea, and designed to play the principal part, and degrades *constitution* into an insignificant, idle epithet, attached to *compact*. The whole then stands as a *'constitutional compact!'* And in this way he hopes to pass off a plausible gloss, as satisfying the words of the instrument. But he will find himself disappointed. Sir, I must say to the honorable gentleman, that, in our American political Grammar, CONSTITUTION is a noun substantive; it imports a distinct and clear idea of itself; and it is not to lose its importance and dignity, it is not to be turned into a poor, ambiguous, senseless, unmeaning adjective, for the purpose of accommodating any new set of political notions. Sir, we reject his new rules of syntax altogether. We will not give up our forms of political speech to the grammarians of the school of nullification. By the Constitution, we mean, not a 'constitutional compact,' but, simply and directly, the Constitution, the fundamental law; and if there be one word in the language which the people of the United States understand, this is that word. We know no more of a constitutional compact between sovereign powers, than we know of a *constitutional* indenture of copartnership, a *constitutional* deed of conveyance, or a *constitutional* bill of exchange. But we know what the *Constitution* is; we know what the plainly written fundamental law is; we know what the bond of our Union and the security of

our liberties is; and we mean to maintain and to defend it, in its plain sense and unsophisticated meaning.

"The sense of the gentleman's proposition, therefore, is not at all affected, one way or the other, by the use of this word. That proposition still is, that our system of government is but a *compact* between the people of separate and sovereign States.

"Was it Mirabeau, Mr. President, or some other master of the human passions, who has told us that words are things? They are indeed things, and things of mighty influence, not only in addresses to the passions and high-wrought feelings of mankind, but in the discussion of legal and political questions also; because a just conclusion is often avoided, or a false one reached, by the adroit substitution of one phrase, or one word, for another. Of this we have, I think, another example in the resolutions before us.

"The first resolution declares that the people of the several States '*acceded*' to the Constitution or to the constitutional compact, as it is called. This word 'accede,' not found either in the Constitution itself or in the ratification of it by any one of the States, has been chosen for use here, doubtless, not without a well-considered purpose.

"The natural converse of *accession* is *secession;* and, therefore, when it is stated that the people of the States acceded to the Union, it may be more plausibly argued that they may secede from it. If, in adopting the Constitution, nothing was done but acceding to a compact, nothing would seem necessary, in order to break it up, but to secede from the same compact. But the term is wholly out of place. *Accession*, as a word, applied to political associations, implies coming into a league, treaty, or confederacy by one hitherto a stranger to it; and *secession* implies departing from such league or confederacy. The people of the United States have used no such form of expression in establishing the present government. They do not say that they *accede* to a league, but they declare that they *ordain* and *establish* a Constitution. Such are the very words of the instrument itself; and in all the States without an exception, the language used by their conventions was, that they '*ratified the Constitution;*' some of them employing the additional words 'assented to' and 'adopted,' but all of them 'ratifying.'

"There is more importance than may, at first sight, appear, in the introduction of this new word by the honorable mover of these resolutions. Its adoption and use are indispensable to maintain those premises from which his main conclusion is to be afterwards drawn. But before showing that, allow me to remark, that this phraseology tends to keep out of sight the just view of

a previous political history, as well as to suggest wrong ideas as to what was actually done when the present Constitution was agreed to. In 1789, and before this Constitution was adopted, the United States had been already in a union, more or less close, for fifteen years. At least as far back as the meeting of the first Congress, in 1774, they had in some measure, and for some national purposes, united together. Before the Confederation of 1781, they had declared independence jointly, and had carried on the war jointly, both by sea and by land; and this, not as separate States, but as one people. When, therefore, they formed that Confederation, and adopted its articles as articles of perpetual union, they did not come together for the first time; and therefore they did not speak of the States as *acceding* to the Confederation, although it was a league, and nothing but a league, and rested on nothing but plighted faith for its performance. Yet, even then, the States were not strangers to each other; there was a bond of union already subsisting between them; they were associated, united States; and the object of the Confederation was to make a stronger and better bond of union. Their representatives deliberated together on these proposed Articles of Confederation, and, being authorized by their respective States, finally '*ratified and confirmed*' them. Inasmuch as they were already in union, they did not speak of *acceding* to the new Articles of Confederation, but of *ratifying and confirming* them; and this language was not used inadvertently, because in the same instrument *accession* is used in its proper sense, when applied to Canada, which was altogether a stranger to the existing union. 'Canada,' says the eleventh article, '*acceding* to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into the Union.'

"Having thus used the terms *ratify* and *confirm*, even in regard to the old Confederation, it would have been strange indeed, if the people of the United States, after its formation, and when they came to establish the present Constitution, had spoken of the States, or the people of the States, as *acceding* to this Constitution. Such language would have been ill-suited to the occasion. It would have implied an existing separation or disunion among the States, such as never has existed since 1774. No such language, therefore, was used. The language actually employed is, *adopt, ratify, ordain, establish.*

"Therefore, Sir, since any State, before she can prove her right to dissolve the Union, must show her authority to undo what has been done, no State is at liberty to *secede*, on the ground that she and other States have done nothing but *accede.* She must show that she has a right to *reverse* what has been *ordained*,

to *unsettle* and *overthrow* what has been *established*, to *reject* what the people have *adopted*, and to *break up* what they have *ratified;* because these are the terms which express the transactions which have actually taken place. In other words she must show her right to make a revolution.

"If, Mr. President, in drawing these resolutions the honorable member had confined himself to the use of constitutional language, there would have been a wide and awful *hiatus* between his premises and his conclusion. Leaving out the two words, *compact* and *accession*, which are not constitutional modes of expression, and stating the matter precisely as the truth is, his first resolution would have affirmed that *the people of the several States ratified this Constitution, or form of government.* These are the very words of South Carolina herself, in her act of ratification. Let, then, his first resolution tell the exact truth; let it state the fact precisely as it exists; let it say that the people of the several States ratified a constitution, or form of government; and then, Sir, what will become of his inference in his second resolution, which is in these words, namely, 'that, as in all other cases of compact among sovereign parties, each has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of the infraction as of the mode and measure of redress'? It is obvious, — is it not, Sir? — that this conclusion requires for its support quite other premises; it requires premises which speak of *accession* and of *compact* between sovereign powers; and without such premises it is altogether unmeaning." Vol. iii. pp. 452 – 456.

Mr. Webster's arguments before the Supreme Court of the United States have contributed nearly as much as his labors in the Senate and the Cabinet to the exposition and defence of the true doctrines of the Constitution. For nearly thirty-five years, he has been employed as counsel before this tribunal in most of the cases that involved any considerable questions of fundamental law. No one at the Bar, and, with the exception of Marshall and Story, no one upon the Bench, has done so much to govern the course and determine the general character of the leading decisions of this Court, which is the tribunal of last resort when any doubt arises about the true meaning and extent of the provisions of the Constitution. Within its prescribed sphere, its authority is paramount, and overrides not only that of the legislatures of the individual States, but even the power of Congress, whose highest acts of legislation may be adjudged by it to be

unconstitutional and void. No legal tribunal in England has so elevated an office, or so delicate a duty to perform; for Parliament there is clothed with absolute authority, and its acts are the supreme law of the land. The proceedings of the Supreme Court of the United States, interpreting the law which is of paramount obligation upon all the departments of the government, have a dignity and importance which those of no other tribunal in the world can equal; and practice before it is, consequently, the best preparation for the duties of a senator and a statesman. Mr. Webster first obtained eminence in this sphere of professional effort, by his argument, delivered in 1817, in defence of the chartered rights of Dartmouth College against a law of New Hampshire, which virtually declared the College, as a public institution, to be the creature of the State, and amenable solely to its will. He obtained a decision that this act was an infringement of the Constitutional provision that no State shall pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts; and under this decision, every endowed college, academy, and school in the United States now holds its property and maintains its independent existence. Mr. Webster took the broad ground that all such establishments are private eleemosynary corporations, over whom the legislature has no control after it has once chartered them, and who are responsible only to the legal tribunals for imputed violations of their charters; and the Court, by affirming this doctrine, established their rights as long as the Constitution shall endure.

Scarcely less important was the doctrine which Mr. Webster succeeded in establishing, through the authority of this Court, in the case of Gibbons against Ogden, decided in 1824; it denied the power of a State to give to any person or corporation the exclusive right to navigate its waters, because the power "to regulate commerce," which is necessarily a unit, or one that does not admit of being shared between two concurrent jurisdictions, is reserved to Congress. Twenty-four years afterwards, in an argument on the Rhode Island case, going still deeper into the fundamental principles of our republican institutions, he obtained the sanction by the same Court of the doctrine that the inhabitants of a State cannot arbitrarily change their Constitution, or modify their

fundamental law, in any other way than by observing the forms and complying with the restrictions which they have themselves established, or which are inherent in the nature of any government that proceeds by rule, and is not a mere despotism. Affirming the republican principle, that the people are the sovereign power, he maintained that a fundamental law was still necessary to determine who the people are, and to limit the authoritative manifestation of their will to prescribed channels and accredited representatives. Here, again, we borrow a portion of his masterly statement of the principle, because it is unequalled for dignity, precision, and force.

"Let all admit, what none deny, that the only source of political power in this country is the people. Let us admit that they are *sovereign*, for they are so; that is to say, the aggregate community, the collected will of the people, is sovereign. I confess that I think Chief Justice Jay spoke rather paradoxically than philosophically, when he said that this country exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of many sovereigns and no subjects. The people, he said, are all sovereigns; and the peculiarity of the case is that they have no subjects except a few colored persons. This must be rather fanciful. The aggregate community is sovereign, but that is not *the* sovereignty which acts in the daily exercise of sovereign power. The people cannot act daily as the people. They must establish a government and invest it with so much of the sovereign power as the case requires; and this sovereign power being delegated and placed in the hands of the government, that government becomes what is popularly called THE STATE. I like the old-fashioned way of stating things as they are; and this is the true idea of a State. It is an organized government, representing the collected will of the people, as far as they see fit to invest that government with power. And in that respect it is true, that, though *this* government possesses sovereign power, it does not possess *all* sovereign power; and so the State governments, though sovereign in some respects, are not so in all. Nor could it be shown that the powers of both, as delegated, embrace the whole range of what might be called sovereign power. We usually speak of the States, as sovereign States. I do not object to this. But the Constitution never so styles them, nor does the Constitution speak of the government here as the *general* or the *federal* government. It calls this government the United States; and it calls the State governments State governments. Still the fact is undeniably so; legislation is a sovereign power, and is exercised by the United States govern-

ment to a certain extent, and also by the States according to the forms which they themselves have established, and subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

"Well, then, having agreed that all power is originally from the people, and that they can confer as much of it as they please, the next principle is, that, as the exercise of legislative power and the other powers of government immediately by the people themselves is impracticable, they must be exercised by REPRESENTATIVES of the people; and what distinguishes American governments as much as any thing else from any governments of ancient or of modern times, is the marvellous felicity of their representative system. It has with us, allow me to say, a somewhat different origin from the representation of the commons in England, though that has been worked up to some resemblance of our own. The representative system in England had its origin, not in any supposed rights of the people themselves, but in the necessities and commands of the crown. At first, knights and burgesses were summoned, often against their will, to a Parliament called by the king. Many remonstrances were presented against sending up these representatives; the charge of paying them was, not unfrequently, felt to be burdensome by the people. But the king wished their counsel and advice, and perhaps the presence of a popular body, to enable him to make greater headway against the feudal barons in the aristocratic and hereditary branch of the legislature. In process of time, these knights and burgesses assumed more and more a popular character, and became, by degrees, the guardians of popular rights. The people through them obtained protection against the encroachments of the crown and the aristocracy, till in our day they are understood to be the representatives of the people, charged with the protection of their rights. With us it was always just so. Representation has always been of this character. The power is with the people; but they cannot exercise it in masses or *per capita;* they can only exercise it by their representatives. The whole system with us has been popular from the beginning.

"Now, the basis of this representation is suffrage. The right to choose representatives is every man's part in the exercise of sovereign power; to have a voice in it, if he has the proper qualifications, is the portion of political power belonging to every elector. That is the beginning. That is the mode in which power emanates from its source, and gets into the hands of conventions, legislatures, courts of law, and the chair of the executive. It begins in suffrage. Suffrage is the delegation of the power of an individual to some agent.

"This being so, then follow two other great principles of the American system.

"1. The first is, that the right of suffrage shall be guarded, protected, and secured against force and against fraud; and,

"2. The second is, that its exercise shall be prescribed by previous law; its qualifications shall be prescribed by previous law; the time and place of its exercise shall be prescribed by previous law; the manner of its exercise, under whose supervision (always sworn officers of the law,) is to be prescribed. And then, again, the results are to be certified to the central power, by some certain rule, by some known public officers, in some clear and definite form, to the end that two things may be done: first, that every man entitled to vote may vote; second, that his vote may be sent forward and counted, and so he may exercise his part of sovereignty, in common with his fellow-citizens.

"In the exercise of political power through representatives we know nothing, we never have known any thing, but such an exercise as should take place through the prescribed form of law. When we depart from that, we shall wander as widely from the American track as the pole is from the track of the sun." Vol. vi. pp. 222 – 224.

We need not stop to remark on the broad scope and incalculable importance of principles like these, authoritatively established by the highest tribunal in the land, and not repealable or subject to change, like the acts of the legislature, but inwrought into the very framework of our institutions. He who has largely contributed to their solemn affirmation and permanent establishment has performed a great work, not only for his own age, but for future generations. The constitutional lawyer, who restores, develops, and defends the most generous and permanent features of a great system of jurisprudence, renders a service to his country hardly second in importance to that of the founders of her institutions or the vindicators of her liberties. Erskine, establishing the true doctrine of the law of libel and of constructive treason, and Camden adjudging General Warrants to be illegal and void, were as great benefactors to their countrymen as Chatham, who organized victories for them, or the younger Pitt, who guided their councils in their darkest hour of peril. The largest ambition might well be satisfied with the fame which Mr. Webster has acquired before the great tribunals of the law, and which has been comparatively cast into the shade only by the greater brilliancy of his services as a senator and a statesman.

It is only on a few great occasions that Mr. Webster has appeared before large assemblies of the people as "the orator of the day," to give expression to their sentiments respecting the great events and great characters in the history of the country. The severe and practical turn of his mind has rendered him averse to topics of mere declamation, however animated and stirring in character, when they had not an immediate bearing upon the present or future policy of the republic. But there have been a few occasions of this sort during his public career, so transcendent in interest and importance, that they have overcome his reluctance to speak when no question was depending; and he has then yielded to the wishes of the public, whose excited feelings could obtain fitting utterance only in his majestic and impressive language. The orations then delivered may be classed among his most studied efforts, though they were still but imperfectly prepared beforehand, as it is characteristic of him to rely on the inspiration of the moment. Reasons have already been given in this Journal* for considering the grandest burst of eloquence in his Address at the consecration of the monument on Bunker's Hill, as actually suggested at the time of delivering it by the magnificent scene before him, and by the strong excitement of the hour. The figure, indeed, is not a new one; the abrupt change from the third person to the second, being naturally dictated by excited feeling, has been imitated even in the stately and elaborate phrase of Latin poetry, as in the song in honor of Hercules in the eighth Æneid.

> — "ut duros mille labores
> Rege sub Eurystheo, fatis Junonis iniquæ,
> Pertulerit. *Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres*
> *Hylæum Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas*
> *Prodigia, et vastum Nemeâ sub rupe leonem.*"

In a letter first published in one of these volumes, we find incidental confirmation of the fact, that even those parts of Mr. Webster's orations which seem to have been the most carefully studied, because they were the most effective in delivery, were in fact prepared only a few hours beforehand, when the mind was most stimulated by the near approach of the occasion. In the Eulogy of

* See *N. A. Review*, Vol. xli. p. 242.

Adams and Jefferson, the speech which, after the manner of the ancient historians, is put into the mouth of John Adams, as if delivered by him in Congress during the debate upon the Declaration of Independence, appears so apposite and eloquent, that many supposed it was actually spoken, and were thus led to inquire where Mr. Webster had found it. In answer to one of these inquiries, he stated, "The speech was written by me, in my house at Boston, *the day before* the delivery of the Discourse in Faneuil Hall; — a poor substitute, I am sure, it would appear to be, if we could now see the speech actually made by Mr. Adams on that transcendently important occasion." The substance of it was unquestionably thus prepared; but we have little doubt that it was materially modified and enlarged at the moment of delivery.

Not more than half a dozen of these *commemorative* orations, if they may be so designated, are found in this publication. Of course, we do not class with them the addresses made at informal public meetings, which are devoted exclusively to the discussion of the political topics of the day, and are as practical and argumentative in character as the speeches made in the Senate. Even the few studied orations contain enough internal evidence that they were written by a great statesman and jurist, whose object is rather to expound the principles of the American government and to trace the growth of American institutions, than merely to please the tastes and kindle the feelings of his auditory. They contain no parade of scholarship, few wide-ranging disquisitions, and few repetitions from the historian's page. They are didactic and impressive, the chaste simplicity of the style swelling into fervid eloquence only when the grandeur of the theme appears to stir the feelings of the speaker so strongly that the calm reason and iron will can no longer chain them down. They are not merely national in opinion and sentiment; they are so thoroughly imbued with American feeling, so deeply tinged with what is most peculiar in the history and position of the country, that they seem as indigenous as our native oaks and pines. Like our vast forests, they are the spontaneous growth of the soil. It is a striking evidence of their power, that, in several instances, the associations which they furnish are as vivid,

and probably as lasting, as those supplied by the events and the places that occasioned them. Mr. Webster's eloquence has cast a spell over Plymouth Rock and the monument on Bunker's Hill, hardly inferior to that which the genius of Scott has woven around Flodden Field and fair Melrose. No American, certainly, can visit the two former localities without being as forcibly reminded of those passages of grand and impressive eloquence which have been familiar to him for many years, as of the Landing of the Pilgrims or the Death of Warren.

In this desultory notice of the Works of Mr. Webster, we have endeavored to look at them in that light only in which they will be regarded by his countrymen of a future generation, after the strifes and jealousies of the present hour shall have been forgotten. We do not profess to have viewed them with as much coolness and impartiality as if they had been the productions of a foreigner; one would hardly wish not to be biased by the strong American feeling which pervades them. But we have attempted to forget that Mr. Webster is still upon the stage, and that he may yet be a candidate for the highest office in the republic. Before these remarks are published, however, this question will virtually have been decided by the nominating conventions; and we have therefore written without reference to it, and with a desire to express only that opinion respecting his public character and labors which will be entertained by educated Americans of all parties after his career is closed. It is because we are proud of him as a countryman; because he has largely added to the estimation in which our country is held in foreign lands; because his fame will be a part of the inheritance of our children; and because he has improved, illustrated, and defended the institutions under which we live, that we have spoken warmly of his genius and merits, and have hardly alluded to the fact that he has shared the usual fate of public men in a great and free commonwealth, by being exposed to the full blast of detraction and party strife. We cannot close this imperfect notice better than by repeating what was eloquently said in this Journal, respecting a former publication of his speeches, just seventeen years ago. That opinion, at least, cannot be said to have been biased by

the party controversies which have arisen within the last five years, or by the hopes which are cherished at the present hour, that our people will not always manifest the proverbial insensibility of republics to the merits of their greatest men.

"Here, at home, we would have all men, of all parties, contemplate these powerful productions of a great American mind with those feelings of honest *compatriotism*, (if we may venture on the word,) with which an American in Europe looks back to all that is great and worthy in his native land. As he crosses billow after billow of the great Atlantic, the lines of party difference, like the geographical features of the country, should fade from his sight; and if he have a true heart in his bosom, not more surely will the outlines of the landscape melt into the mist, than sectional and party prejudices will vanish from his mind. . . . . Who now knows, who wishes to know, any thing of the party divisions of other times? Who remembers that the Scipio who destroyed, and the Cato who counselled, the destruction of Carthage were bitter opponents? Who recollects that there were times when Samuel Adams and John Hancock did not speak to each other; that even in the Revolutionary Congress, there were parties, feuds, and intrigues? Time and the grave, the great reconcilers, have healed the dissensions, and patriotism has embalmed the common good which was sought, promoted, and established by willing or reluctant coöperation. Shall nothing but time teach the lessons of wisdom and kind feeling? Shall the tomb be the only temple from which the voice of patriotism shall speak with full effect? Is it impossible, before the last end, to tame the rage of detraction, — to do justice to contemporary worth?"

ART. IV. — *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht.* By LORD MAHON. Vols. V. and VI. 1763 – 1780. London. John Murray, 1851. pp. 500, xliii. 501, xliii.

WE are not going to comment on these agreeable volumes at large. We have read them with great interest and enjoyment; — not with satisfaction; that is more than we can say. Lord Mahon is a better historical writer than either of the eminent persons who have treated any portion of English history between the Revolution of 1688 and the accession of George the Third. He is a more reasonable, at all events a more moderate, Tory than Mr. Adolphus, who began at the latter era. Indeed, one chief merit of his book is the fair and generous spirit which for the most part pervades it. It is quite plain that he means to maintain good faith with subjects and readers, to tell the story frankly and truly, and impartially to award praise and blame. It is further clear that he has right and manly feelings, a quiet sympathy with whatever is honorable and amiable in character, and an honest antipathy for what is base. "I feel," he says, in one of his earlier volumes, "that to state any fact without sufficient authority, or to draw any character without thorough conviction, implies not merely literary failure, but moral guilt. Of any such unfair intention I hope the reader may acquit me — I am sure I can acquit myself." * Of all such unfair intention we cordially acquit his Lordship. And because we do so, we assure ourselves of his favorable reception of a few corrections which we are presently to make of some of his unintentional misstatements.

Lord Mahon is not only an upright historian, but a writer, in the main, competent and accomplished for his work. If he makes no parade of philosophical disquisition, his exhibition of events and actors is such that the reader easily gets at the lessons, with the added pleasure of seeming to make them his own discovery. His style is perspicuous and flowing. Though not distinguished by

* Vol. i. p. 3.

vigor or grace, it gets over the ground evenly, and with speed enough, without Gibbon's stilts, or the ground-and-lofty tumbling of Carlyle. It has the great merit of a flexibility which makes it equal to dignified narrative, and which, at the same time, permits the introduction, without abruptness or jar, of personal anecdotes and illustrations of a lighter character.

As to materials, besides those already before the public in print, Lord Mahon had the advantage of consulting the valuable family papers transmitted from his ancestor, General Stanhope, the soldier and statesman of Anne and George the First; those (still in manuscript) of the Yorke family, the family of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; the manuscript Memoirs of the Duke of Grafton; collections relating to the schemes and enterprises of the expelled dynasty, particularly the Stuart papers presented by the Pope to the Prince Regent after the death of Cardinal York; and the Grenville papers, now in the possession of George Grenville's descendant, the Duke of Buckingham. Lord Mahon says that he had also opportunity "to examine the despatches to and from America in our State Paper Office." * That opportunity, we fear, he did not suitably estimate or profit by. In those portions of his work which relate to American affairs, we see no evidence of his having pushed his researches in that branch of his subject at all beyond the commonest histories, nor far in them.

To carry out his purpose of impartiality, when treating of the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies, was no easy thing for Lord Mahon, with his strong Tory inclinings. We have said that we have no doubt of his having aimed at it. We doubt as little that he has failed of entire success. But though we cannot help tracing repeatedly in his work the operation of this disturbing element, we are bound to avow our opinion that it is not this chiefly which has made his treatment of the American part of his subject an unsatisfactory one. The simple truth is, that, as to this important portion of his work, — and what is there in modern history more important than the relations between Great Britain and Ame-

* Vol. vi. Ap. p. iv.

rica for the twenty years from 1763? — he does not appear to have sufficiently informed himself before he proceeded to write upon it. We suppose that his reading in the American historians does not extend beyond the works of Grahame, Bancroft, Gordon, and Ramsay, and that it is only a portion of the majority of these which has engaged his notice.

We also strongly suspect that, not having had his attention previously drawn to its importance, and learning it only by degrees as it forced itself upon him in the prosecution of his work, Lord Mahon had written up to the year 1765 before looking with any curiosity at the history of the colonies; and that he was content, as measures and events in England succeeded each other in his narrative, to acquaint himself successively and singly with the corresponding ones in America. Of course, this is not the way to write history; and this is not the way in which Lord Mahon has written the rest of his work. But, unless we greatly mistake, such is the account to be given of the comparatively barren, fragmentary, superficial, lifeless character of that portion of it which most interests us. One may make a chapter in a book of annals correctly without knowing any thing out of its limits. But history deals with sequences of cause and effect. Its large discourse looks before and after. How could Lord Mahon have written the English history of the Georges, as well as he has done, without being well read in the times of the Stuarts, the Commonwealth, and the Revolution? How could he be expected to understand much better than he appears to do the men and the measures of Massachusetts, without knowing something of its disputes with the mother country as far back as under the old charter?

We think that his Lordship mentions the English North American colonies but once in his first three volumes; that is, before the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748. And then he mentions them to relate the capture of Louisburg in just the following words, and no more.

"The people of New England had formed a design for reducing Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton, a French port of great importance, and sometimes termed the Dunkirk of America. The King's Government afforded its assistance to the enterprise.

Early in the spring, about 4000 volunteers assembled at Boston: they were reinforced by a body of marines, and supported by Admiral Warren with a squadron of ten ships of war. For their commander they chose Mr. Pepperel, a private gentleman, in whom courage and sagacity supplied the place of military skill. Landing with very slight loss at Gabarus, four miles from Louisburg, they invested the place by land while the fleet blockaded the harbor. The walls were newly repaired and the garrison mustered 1200 men, and a resolute resistance was encountered; but, nevertheless, on the 15th of June, after forty-nine days' siege, the town and the whole island were compelled to surrender to the British arms." Vol. iii. p. 299.

What can it be imagined that the writer of this knew of the campaign against Cape Breton in 1745? What idea had he of the nature of that enterprise? The capture of Louisburg was a very extraordinary exploit, in its conception, in its conduct, in its consequences. It was one of the wildest undertakings ever projected by sane people. Crusaders of the twelfth century, rather than Yankees of the eighteenth, might be supposed to have devised it. Indeed, a sort of crusading fervor was part of its impulse. A chaplain took with him a hatchet which he had consecrated to a service of iconoclasm in the French churches; and Whitefield furnished the legend for the flag of the New Hampshire troops, *Nil desperandum, Christo duce.* The Massachusetts people were vexed by the vicinity of the French at Louisburg, then a sort of naval guard-house for the North American continent, like Halifax now. Louisburg, about five hundred miles distant from the capital of Massachusetts, was one of the strongest fortresses of the world, both by nature and art. Of a sudden, the idea was conceived of surprising it in the winter with a party of militia, and scaling its walls, over thirty feet high, with the help of the snow banks. The attempt was finally resolved upon in the Massachusetts General Court by a majority of one vote. As all the artillery at command was ten eighteen-pounders, borrowed from New York, the plan was, should a siege become necessary, to depend mainly on a park of forty-two-pounders, to be first taken from an outwork of the French. Col. Pepperell was not at all "chosen to the command" by volunteers, but regularly appointed, as

usual, by the Governor in Council. He had "courage and sagacity" in abundance; but he had had some experience, too, with the French and Indians in Maine; and as to his being deficient in "military skill," to suppose that is to make it all the more difficult to explain how Louisburg fell, which is hard enough already. It did fall, at all events, to the amazement of America and Europe, after six or seven weeks of siege by Pepperell's militia, and blockade by Commodore Warren.* The garrison, when it capitulated, consisted of 600 regulars and 1200 militia men, a force half as large again as Lord Mahon supposes. Of the besieging force there were 3250 Massachusetts men, exclusive of commissioned officers, 516 of Connecticut, and 304 of New Hampshire. The assailants were short of powder and provisions, and ill provided with camp equipage. Their siege artillery they had taken in "the grand battery" at Louisburg, according to the scheme laid out at Boston.

On the arrival in London of the Mermaid frigate with the news, her commander received a gratuity of five hundred guineas; "the park and tower guns were fired, and a general joy and gladness," says a London newspaper, "was diffused through the whole kingdom. Advices were forthwith sent to his Majesty in Hanover, who was graciously pleased to express the highest satisfaction. . . . . And in further testimony how acceptable this important acquisition is to his Majesty, a patent has been sent from Hanover, creating Mr. Pepperell a baronet of Great Britain. . . . . His Grace the Duke of Newcastle has in the most affectionate manner expressed the just sense the nation has of the service of the New England troops; that it will reflect everlasting honor on their country; and, happening when affairs in Europe were in so bad a situation, it will still the more endear them to his Majesty." The Gentlemen's Magazine took occasion to say, "Our countrymen and kinsmen of New England are like shrubs and trees which increase in beauty and vigor by being transplanted. They almost shame the soil of their ancestors

* Lord Mahon says that Pepperell landed his troops "at Gabarus." In the rude old map of Colonel Gridley, the provincial engineer, the well known *Chapeau Rouge Bay* is called *Gabarus Bay*, — we suppose, a corruption of the former name, the *G* in Gabarus being pronounced soft.

by their stately growth." Moore's doctrine was not yet broached;

> "In glorious beauty woods and fields appear;
> Man is the only growth that dwindles here."

The event was one of those singular ones which baffle all reasonable calculation. The enterprise seemed to have no one element of success, but its daring. Douglas calls it "the very, very, very rash, but very, very, very fortunate expedition against Cape Breton;" and says that "if any one circumstance had taken a wrong turn on our side, and if any one circumstance had not taken a wrong turn on the French side, the expedition must have miscarried, and our forces would have returned with shame, and an inextricable loss to the province."*

All this may be nothing to the purpose of Lord Mahon's "History of England." But it is to the purpose of that history that the capture of Louisburg was, as far as England was concerned, the great event of the war of the Imperial succession of 1741–1748. England had no other success in that war, to compare with it. It was not without occasion that "His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, in the most affectionate manner, expressed the just sense the nation had of the service of the New England troops;" for that service of theirs extricated His Grace from infinite perplexity, and the nation from danger not a little. We think it would not be attaching too much importance to it to say, that by saving the honor of England, it gave peace to Europe. England, adopting the basis of the *status ante bellum*, for the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, bought back from France, by the retrocession of Louisburg in 1748, the conquests which the more fortunate arms of her rival had been wresting from her on the other side of the water;—a disposition of it, no doubt, very much to the discontent and chagrin of the New England actors and sufferers, but very greatly to her own aid and comfort. Lord Mahon had not sufficiently informed himself respecting the place of that event in the history of England, when he wrote the little paragraph which we have quoted.†

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* *Summary of the British Settlements, &c.*, vol. i. p. 336.

† The facts above stated are partly taken from the original "Letters relating to the Expedition against Cape Breton," (Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. i.) and partly from newspapers of the time.

Throughout his work, the noble author appears disposed to do hearty justice to Washington, whom he introduces in the following terms:

"On the Ohio, the French surprised and sacked Blocks Town, a settlement of the Virginians, who, in return, sent forward Major George Washington at the head of 400 men, and with orders to attack Fort Duquesne. But this officer having advanced to a place called Little Meadows, found himself surrounded in a small fort by superior numbers, and, notwithstanding his resolute resistance, overpowered: he was compelled to capitulate, marching out, however, with military honors. This skirmish, of small importance, perhaps, in itself, was yet amongst the principal causes of the war. It is no less memorable as the first appearance in the pages of history of one of their brightest ornaments, — of that great and good man, GENERAL WASHINGTON." * Vol. iv. pp. 65, 66.

But notwithstanding this good disposition, Lord Mahon's want of sufficient study of the transactions of those times causes him to rob Washington of part of his due. For instance, in describing that miserable business, the defeat of General Braddock,† he fails to relate that Braddock's stupid proceedings were in haughty opposition to the remonstrances of his Virginian aid-de-camp, and that the intrepidity and conduct of the latter in the action attracted the universal admiration of the country, were extolled to and by the British ministry, and in short gave

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* Here are some little mistakes. For "Blocks Town," one should read *Logstown*, (which, however, had not been taken by the French,) and for "Little Meadows," *Great Meadows*. And when Washington was "sent forward," it was not "with orders to attack Fort Duquesne," which was not yet in existence, but to help in building upon its site a fort to be begun by another Virginia officer, who preceded him. The unfinished work was taken by the French, under Contrecœur, before Washington reached it. — Speaking of Washington's family further on, (vi. 64) Lord Mahon says, "His great grandfather, John Washington, had settled in Virginia about eighty years before, (that is about 1652,) and was descended from an old gentleman's family in England. There was a common descent between them and the Earls of Ferrers, whose ancient device — three mullets above two bars argent, as blazoned in the Herald's College, and as borne by that line of Earls, appears no less on the seal of the American General." But the connection of the name Washington with the Earldom of Ferrers, dates from as late a time as that of the marriage (about 1675) of Elizabeth Washington to Robert Shirley, afterwards Earl of Ferrers, while the Washington arms are known to have been borne by the family of that name as early as 1564, and probably much earlier. Can any one tell us whether the stars and stripes of the American flag (of the origin of which we must own our ignorance) have any relation to the mullets and bars in the arms of the commander-in-chief?

† Vol. iv. pp. 68–70.

him at once a great fame. Lord Mahon does not mention Washington's name as having a place in the expedition or the battle. Nor in relating that Braddock's "troops sought safety in headlong flight," is he careful to confine this remark to the regulars, or to state that while they, according to the official report, "broke and ran, as sheep before hounds," the provincials exerted themselves with steady valor to cover their retreat.

Again, in relating the capture of Fort Duquesne, in 1758, by General Forbes, which, next to the capture of Quebec, (though at a long distance,) was the great event in breaking the French power on this continent, Lord Mahon speaks of the march from Philadelphia as having been "fraught with no common difficulties," which, "however, were courageously overcome." * But he ignores the leading part taken by Washington and the militia in that expedition. Washington was the life of it, though he is not so much as named by our author in connection with the affair. In the only action which occurred in the course of it (that of the 14th of September) the regulars were again beaten, and it was owing to the Virginians that the detachment was not cut to pieces. If no better management than that of General Forbes had been at work for the overcoming of its difficulties, Fort Duquesne instead of Pittsburg might have stood at the forks of the Ohio at this day. At twenty-six years of age, Washington had established the military reputation which, seventeen years later, made him commander-in-chief of the forces of the united Colonies. It was at the close of this campaign that he received the thanks of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and that, being overcome with em barrassment when he attempted to reply, the Speaker said, "Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I can use."

The war with the Cherokees in South Carolina, in 1759–1761, Lord Mahon, with his right feelings, would not have related as he has done,† except from imperfect knowledge. It was altogether a brutal affair. The Indians, no doubt, when foolishly and cruelly injured, carried on the conflict after the ferocious fashion of their race. But Lyttleton, the English governor of South Carolina,

* Vol. iv. p. 203. † Ibid. pp. 291, 292.

was the person chiefly culpable. The Cherokees had been friendly. With small thanks and less reward they had done useful service in the expedition to the Ohio. There had been some disorders on the frontier, and the chiefs had quieted their people; but Lyttleton wanted revenge. With needless and heedless obstinacy, regardless of the opinions of his best counsellors, — for Lyttleton was a martinet and, *quoad hoc*, a blockhead, — he insisted on having the last Cherokee offenders put to death or surrendered to him, when the savages thought, not without reason, that the account had already been pretty fairly squared, especially as they were not the original aggressors. Sincerely desirous of peace, and submitting to unusual humiliations to preserve it, they were driven into war by the outrageous violence and perfidies of the governor, who went so far as to keep their envoys as prisoners, and at length to put them to death under the miserable pretence of a conspiracy. His "treaty of peace," of which Lord Mahon speaks, was all a sham, well known by him to be so, and only intended to give a color to his violent proceedings; it was made with unauthorized persons, and in disregard of Indian customs. If, the war begun, the Indians carried it on with ferocity, the English did no less. A party, sent from the north by General Amherst, under Colonel Montgomery, and joined by a South Carolina force, committed horrible devastation among the poor savages. At length, the Indians waylaid him at Crow's Creek, and handled his party so roughly that he immediately made a rapid retreat from their country; a movement which Lord Mahon (in the use of a euphemism of which he presents other specimens) describes as his "rejoining Amherst's main army, according to his instructions." The savages now had their turn, and they used it accordingly, till the following summer, when they were finally brought to terms. "A fresh detachment from Amherst's army," says Lord Mahon, "after the campaign in Canada, soon compelled the Cherokees to sue for peace." But the better opinion in America is, that the detachment from Amherst's army, which was under the command of the same Colonel Grant whom the Virginians had saved before Fort Duquesne, did no such thing; but that, on the contrary, the incompetency of Grant was

redeemed by Middleton and his South Carolina troops. However that may be, the poor natives were more sinned against than sinning. It is a shocking passage in the mal-administration of the colonial governors; Lord Mahon, had he understood it, could not have found in his good heart to speak of it so coolly.

But we hasten to his Lordship's just published volumes. And of these we must say, in frankness, that, as to that portion of them which relates to American affairs, — or rather to American events, — they have to us altogether too much the appearance of being the result of *cramming* for the occasion, so unlike the rest of the work, which for the most part seems to have been written from a full mind. Lord Mahon appears to have begun his study of the colonial history when about to write his forty-third chapter, which relates to the passage of the Stamp Act. We judge, from the account of the foundation of the New England colonies, with which this chapter opens, that he is not so much as aware that Plymouth and Massachusetts were originally separate governments.* To be sure, they ceased to be so in the third year of William and Mary; but in describing the colony seal of Massachusetts Bay, Lord Mahon appears to give it to the Plymouth settlers, who,

* "At one time," says Lord Mahon, (Vol. v. p. 98) "Cromwell himself, then a man of little note, had been on board ship to join them, when there came an order from Whitehall that he and the other emigrants should be disembarked, — an order, it has been aptly said, which, in its final consequences, destroyed both king and commonwealth." A note refers to Lord Byron's preface to *Marino Faliero*. But the reference to Lord Byron relates, we suppose, not to the statement of fact, but to the subjoined remark of Lord Byron upon it. The fact we take to be apocryphal, though Lord Mahon might quote no bad authority for it. Our own historian, Mather, asserts it (*Magnalia*, Book i. chap. v. § 7); but in these latter days his credit is not the highest. Hutchinson (*History of Massachusetts*, Vol. i. p. 42; a book, by the by, which, eminently important as it was to Lord Mahon's objects, we have the strongest persuasion that he never saw,) followed Mather, though with less precision of statement. Hume (chap. lii.) speaks of Hutchinson as having put the matter beyond question; and Lord Nugent (*Life of Hampden*, Vol. i. p. 256) has alluded to it with the same easy faith. But the fair inference from the statement of our own excellent annalist, Winthrop, (Vol. i. pp. 135, 266,) appears to be that all the persons were ultimately permitted to come over to America, who had engaged to do so; and the language of the contemporary Rushworth, in his record of the proceedings of the Privy Council (Vol. ii. p. 409) perfectly coincides with that of Winthrop. Nor does there appear any good reason why, when the king hoped to tame the young Sir Harry Vane by assenting to his desire of living in New England, he should have expected to accomplish the same object as to Cromwell, by keeping him at home.

from the time of their having a seal, used one of a quite different description. To say nothing, however, of earlier matters, most strangely the movements which immediately led to the Revolution are traced back no further than to the passage of the Stamp Act; all that had come and gone before, since 1760, is despatched with such share as may belong to it of the two following periods.

"At various periods there had arisen between the North American Colonies and the mother country differences touching the restrictions of trade which the latter had imposed. These differences were, no doubt, of considerable extent and bitterness; but, in my opinion, had no other and stronger cause of quarrel broken forth, they might have been to this day, quietly debated before the Board of Trade at Whitehall." Vol. v. p. 122.

The story is told with scarcely so much as a mention of the names of James Otis and Samuel Adams, down to 1770, when Otis was disabled and withdrew from public life. The tragedy of Hamlet is performed with the part of Hamlet omitted. For heaven's sake, then, the American reader asks, who are put upon the scene? And the answer is, Henry and Franklin. For aught the reader of Lord Mahon knows to the contrary, they bore the whole burden and heat of the day. For aught that Lord Mahon appears to know, others might as well have been spared from the conflict. The chapter which relates to the passage of the Stamp Act, and its immediate consequences, has no place for the Massachusetts *Dioscuri*, but sketches at length the characters of "those two eminent men who at this time took the foremost part in opposing the pretensions of the mother country on either side of the Atlantic — Patrick Henry in America, and Benjamin Franklin in England."

Far be it from us to withhold any honor from those great names. But fair play is a jewel, and we desire to see it allowed on all sides. Franklin rendered excellent service to the cause of American freedom. His labors were chiefly, as Lord Mahon says, in England, where he was agent for the colonies of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Georgia. But he was not one of those to whom the vision of coming independence was earliest disclosed, nor will a person well informed on the subject pretend that any part of his great merit was that of a pioneer in the

assertion of Revolutionary doctrine. Lord Mahon's own volumes would afford some materials for refuting such an error. As to Patrick Henry, he was a miracle of natural eloquence. In 1765, he was twenty-nine years old. In that year he took his seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses, having acquired a sudden and brilliant reputation a year or two before by a marvellous exhibition of forensic oratory, but being yet wholly unknown as a legislator or statesman. He proposed, and, in the face of a formidable opposition of the hitherto leading men of the Ancient Dominion, carried through, a series of five Resolutions relating to the passage of the Stamp Act. In the last of them lay the sting of the whole. It was carried by a majority of only one vote, and, on a reconsideration the next day, was expunged from the journal, but found its way before the public through the newspapers. It was as follows.

"Resolved, therefore, that the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American, freedom."

These resolutions were passed on the 30th day of May, 1765. They produced a great and salutary excitement throughout the country. Nearly a year before, on the 13th day of June, 1764, — and in revolutions years are ages, — the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in a document of equal formality and publicity, a letter to their agent in London, written to be communicated to the ministry, and immediately printed in the newspapers, had announced the same doctrine in all its breadth in the following words: "The silence of the province should have been imputed to any cause, even to despair, rather than be construed into a tacit cession of their rights, or an acknowledgment of a right in the Parliament of Great Britain to impose duties and taxes upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons." And in October, 1764, the New York Assembly, taking up the same testimony, proceed to "inform the Commons of Great Britain, that the people of this colony, inspired by the

genius of their mother country, nobly disdain the thought of claiming that exemption as a privilege; they found it on a basis more honorable, solid, and stable; they challenge, and glory in it, as their right."

We might refer to other facts of the same nature, of earlier date than the Virginia movement. In what, then, consisted the great importance of the Resolutions, which, as Lord Mahon rightly says, "the House of Burgesses of his [Henry's] province was induced to pass," "mainly through his eloquence and energy?" In this, — that they were the much-desired *adhesion of Virginia to the northern doctrine.* Massachusetts, then the great northern colony, was safe for it long ago. The great southern colony, Virginia, now adopted it. Had either Massachusetts or Virginia held back, it could scarcely be that the other colonies should go forward. Massachusetts had gone forward. Virginia now stood by her side. And, from that day, there was strong encouragement and confidence. And so far as that made the Revolution, Patrick Henry and his Resolutions made it, but hardly to the exclusion of the agency of others, who had earlier done the same sort of work. If any one thinks that the Revolution is to be dated from the time when Virginia first maintained strong doctrine as to the right of taxation, it will be reasonable for him to refer the Revolution to Patrick Henry's Resolutions. But such, we venture to say, is not and will not be the sentence of history.*

Four years after Henry's Resolutions, James Otis was still known to the British statesmen as the chief champion of the American claims, and was referred to as such by Lord Clare and Mr. Burke, in debate in Parliament. Four years before Patrick Henry's Resolutions, in February, 1761, in the State House in Boston, James Otis argued the question of the "Writs of Assistance" before

* Lord Mahon says, that "it was universally thought the Address (of the Congress in 1774) to the English people was composed by Mr. John Jay, of New York, and the Petition to the King by Mr. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia." When his Lordship looks into the second volume of the *Political Writings* of John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, he will find that the latter document came from the pen of the famous author of the *Farmer's Letters.* Lee wrote the Address to the Colonies. See the *Life of Richard Henry Lee*, by his grandson, R. H. Lee. Vol. i. p. 119.

the Judges of the Superior Court. John Adams knew something of the history of American Independence, and this is what he has left on record as to his sense of the importance of that transaction.

"Otis was a flame of fire; with a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American Independence was then and there born. The seeds of patriots and heroes, to defend the *Non sine Diis animosus infans*, to defend the vigorous youth, were then and there sown. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against Writs of Assistance. Then and there, was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there, the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, that is, in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself free." Tudor's *Life of James Otis*, pp. 60, 61.

And, again:

"I do say in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis's oration against Writs of Assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life." *Ibid.* pp. 87, 88.

Such was the opinion of a friend to the cause, than whom no other was more discerning or better informed. What did its enemies think? Towards the close of 1766, Governor Bernard wrote to Lord Shelburne: "The troubles in this country take their rise from, and owe their continuance to, one man, so much that his history alone would contain a full account of them. This man, James Otis, Esq., was a lawyer in Boston, when I came to the government," &c.*

It is the same John Adams, whose opinion of Otis's services we have given above, of whom Lord Mahon says:

"I observe that Mr. John Adams, in his private Diary, from time to time mentions Otis with no high respect. Thus, Dec. 23, 1765: 'Otis is fiery and feverous; he is liable to great inequalities of temper, sometimes in despondency and sometimes in a rage.' Thus again, Sept. 3, 1769: 'Otis talks all; he grows the

* Bowen's *Life of Otis*, in Sparks's *Am. Biog.* p. 147.

most talkative man alive; no other gentleman in company can find space to put in a word.'" Vol. v. p. 408.

The character ascribed by Adams to Otis in 1765 always belonged to him. It was the infelicity of his temperament, consistent however with generous and splendid qualities, and by no means excluding "high respect" in one who observed and recorded it. With growing years it became aggravated into insanity, to which condition it was rapidly tending when, in 1769, Adams described Otis as growing "the most talkative man alive." This was the last year that he passed for a sane man. But if Lord Mahon entertains a "high respect" for Lord Chatham, notwithstanding the imbecile prostration of the time of his second administration, why is Adams to be quoted as denying respect to Otis under like circumstances?

Of "the two Adamses, Samuel and John," Lord Mahon says that

"These were distant kinsmen and close friends, and both men of much ability, but far different in character; the first a demagogue, the second a statesman." Vol. v. p. 408.

According to the etymology of the word, a demagogue means simply a popular leader. And this Samuel Adams eminently was. But a demagogue, in the invidious sense of that word, he certainly was not. He sought no private ends. He had a Spartan contempt for money and parade. He was a man of theories, — narrow theories, sometimes — but standing in his consideration far above all personal objects. The most special notice which Lord Mahon takes of him is to repeat a piece of scandal from the simple, but credulous, and therefore not too trustworthy Gordon.* But as he subsequently took pains to get further information, and on the strength of it has made the *amende* in his Appendix,† we pass that question by. It is certain that the people of Massachusetts, and especially his fellow-citizens of Boston, who best knew and were most interested in any cause of complaint against him of the sort alleged, extended to him a remarkable degree of confidence throughout his long life. In it there are no so salient passages as in the life of Otis. But, as much as

* Vol. vi. p. 183. † Vol. vi. p. xvi.

any other person in the early period of the ante-revolutionary disputes, Samuel Adams was the man of reflection and daring, and, more than any other person, the man of business. He tempered and partly directed the impetuosity of Otis, and his more careful and fastidious pen was constantly in use to prune the exuberances and correct the method of his friend. Much of the important public correspondence of the time, as the Massachusetts petition to the king, the letters to members of the ministry and other persons in power in England, and the circular letter to the Assemblies of the other colonies, are known to have been thus their joint production, Otis furnishing the first draft, and Adams making amendments and additions. To Adams is probably due the invention of that potent enginery, the committees for correspondence between the different colonies. And on all hands, we believe, he is allowed to have suggested the committees of correspondence between the towns of Massachusetts, in which the other more extensive plan had its pattern. He has been said, but we do not know on what authority, to have first suggested the idea of the non-importation agreement, and that of the Congress at New York, in 1764, which led, ten years after, to the Continental Congress.* In the caucuses and the popular assemblies he was the oracle, and one never known to utter an ambiguous response. Lord Mahon may depend upon it that the history of American politics from 1760 to 1770 will not hold together in the absence of those two names.

His Lordship, following Mr. Adolphus, supposes that the famous speech of Colonel Barré on the passage of the Stamp Act was an afterthought. He says:

"Within doors the scheme was opposed with little vigor. Pitt was ill in bed at Hayes, and only a few of his friends, as Colonel Barré and Alderman Baker, spoke or voted against it. Nine years afterwards, and in the presence no doubt of many men who had witnessed these discussions, Mr. Burke described them in the following terms: 'Far from any thing inflammatory, I never heard a more languid debate in this House. No more than two or three gentlemen as I remember spoke against the Act, and that with great reserve and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of the Bill and the minority did not

* *Biography of the Signers*, &c. p. 293.

reach to more than thirty-nine or forty. In the House of Lords I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all.'

"There is extant, nevertheless, an eloquent and well-known burst of oratory, which is ascribed to Colonel Barré, on one of these occasions. Mr. Grenville having spoken of the Americans as children of our own, planted by our care and nourished by our indulgence, Colonel Barré exclaimed: 'Children planted by your care! No, your oppression planted them in America, they fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land;'—and there follows a fine philippic against the misgovernment of the mother country. But on further examination there appears the strongest reason to doubt whether these words were really uttered at that time. In the first place, they are not recorded in the contemporary Debates of Debrett. Secondly, they are hard to reconcile with the authentic description of Burke. It is probable therefore that some time afterwards, and when our dissensions with America had already darkened, this speech, under the name of revision, and on a slight foundation of reality, was added by the pen of Barré." Vol. v. pp. 130, 131.

This is an anachronism, and an *anachorism* besides. A Congressional orator nowadays publishes a speech in a pamphlet which it takes two or three hours to read, when the honorable gentleman has only been twice as many minutes on his legs. But we never heard of this being the practice in England. At all events, it was not in Col. Barré's time. Mr. Adolphus and Lord Mahon are mistaken. Mr. Francis Dana, afterwards Chief Justice of Massachusetts, heard Barré's speech, and wrote home an account of it at the time. But Lord Mahon might have found his contradiction in print. In June, 1766, Jared Ingersoll, then recently returned from London, where he had been agent for the colony of Connecticut, published at New Haven a pamphlet containing, among other letters, one addressed by him to Governor Fitch on the 11th of February, 1765. In this letter he gives the following account of the proceedings on the passage of the Stamp Act, at which he was present:

"The debate upon the American Stamp Bill came on before the House for the first time, last Wednesday, when the same was opened by Mr. Grenville, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a pretty lengthy speech; and in a very able, and I think, in a very candid manner, he opened the nature of the tax; urged the necessity of it; endeavored to obviate all objections;—and took

occasion to desire the House to give the Bill a most serious and cool consideration, and not suffer themselves to be influenced by any resentments, which might have been kindled from any thing they might have heard out of doors: — (alluding, I suppose, to the New York and Boston Assemblies' speeches and votes) — that this was a matter of revenue, which of all things was the most interesting to the subject, &c., &c. — The argument was taken up by several who opposed the Bill, namely by Alderman Beckford, Col. Barré, Mr. Jackson, Sir William Meredith, and some others. Mr. Barré, who by the way, I think, and I find I am not alone in my opinion, is one of the finest speakers that the House can boast of, having been some time in America as an officer in the army, and having, while there, as I had known before, contracted many friendships with American gentlemen, and I believe entertained much more favorable opinions of them, than some of his profession have done, delivered a very handsome and moving speech upon the Bill, and against the same, concluding by saying, that he was very sure that most who should hold up their hands to the Bill, must be under a necessity of acting very much in the dark, but added, 'perhaps as well in the dark as any way.'

"After him Mr. Charles Townsend spoke in favor of the Bill; — took notice of several things Mr. Barré had said, and concluded with the following, or like words: — 'And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite, to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?' When he had done, Mr. Barré rose, and having explained something which he had before said, and which Mr. Townsend had been remarking upon, he then took up the beforementioned concluding words of Mr. Townsend, and in a most spirited, and, I thought, an almost inimitable manner, said,

"'They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted 'em in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and unhospitable country; where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those who should have been their friends.

"'They nourished up by *your* indulgence! They grew by your neglect of 'em: — As soon as you began to care about 'em,

that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over 'em, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some member of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon 'em; — men, whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; — men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who to my knowledge, were glad by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

"'They protected by *your* arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted a valor amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember that I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still; — but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart: However superior to me in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated; — but the subject is too delicate, and I will say no more.'

"These sentiments were thrown out so entirely without premeditation, so forcibly and so firmly, and the breaking off so beautifully abrupt, that the whole house sat awhile as amazed, intently looking, and without answering a word.

"I own I felt emotions that I never felt before; and went the next morning and thanked Col. Barré, in behalf of my country, for his noble and spirited speech. However, sir, after all that was said, upon a division of the house upon the question, there was about two hundred and fifty, to about fifty, in favor of the bill." Mr. Ingersoll's *Letters*, pp. 14–17.

There can be no question about this evidence. "Last Wednesday," (which by the calendars we find to be February 6th,) Ingersoll says that Barré made a speech, which Ingersoll reports, just as American children have had it almost ever since in their school-books. Lord Mahon says that it is "not recorded in the contemporary Debates of Debrett." But, as his Lordship has looked into Debrett to verify that statement, he knows that the whole proceedings in relation to the Stamp Act, are despatched

in eleven lines of that concise reporter.* The supposition of Barré's speech having been made at the time alleged, again says Lord Mahon, is "hard to reconcile with the authentic description of Burke." But what proceedings was it in particular that Burke authentically described? It is hard to say. If they were those of the 6th of February, either Burke's memory was in fault, or he estimated Barré's eloquence in a way we should not expect from him. In a later letter (of March 6th,) Ingersoll, referring to his former "particular account of the reception the American Stamp Bill met with in the House of Commons upon *the first* bringing of it in," says, (p. 22,) "since that time, in the further progress of the bill through the House, there have been some further debates, the most considerable of which was at the second reading of the bill." On that day too, Ingersoll, — a colony agent, interested to observe the facts, and under no motive, as far as we can see, to deceive, — says that the presentation of a Virginia petition by Sir William Meredith "drew on a pretty warm debate;" that "Mr. Yorke, the late Attorney-General, delivered himself in a very long speech;" that "in the most peremptory manner" General Conway "denied the right of parliament to tax us;" that he "urged with great vehemence the many hardships and what he was pleased to call absurdities that would follow from the contrary doctrine and practice," and that "the hardships and inconveniences were also again urged and placed in various lights by our other friends in the House." And he says further on, under the date of March 6th, (p. 23,) "It is about four days since the Bill passed through all the necessary forms in the House of Commons, and is now ready and lies before the Lords for their concurrence."

It was then pending in the House from February 6th to about March 2d. On the 6th of February, Barré made his famous speech, and it was in answer to Charles Townsend, and not to George Grenville, whom Lord Mahon, by yet another error, supposes to have been the alleged opponent of Barré on that occasion. "In the further progress of the bill" there were "some further debates," of one of which in particular, Ingersoll, within three or four weeks at the longest, gives a detailed account.

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* *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. iv. pp. 250, 251.

Nine years after, Burke used language which Lord Mahon interprets as proving that the Stamp Act passed almost *sub silentio*, and, in particular, that Barré's speech upon it, as it has since gone into the books, is a fiction. Lord Mahon must look for some other explanation of Burke's words. After the facts which we have stated, he will own that his former inference from them must be abandoned.

Barré's speech, as copied from Ingersoll's letter to the Governor, appeared in the New London Gazette on the 10th of May, 1765, a few days only after the news of the final passage of the Stamp Act reached America, and immediately went flying all abroad through the continent on the wings of all the newspapers. This we might not have been surprised that Lord Mahon should have overlooked. But there is one somewhat public refutation of his mistake which might have been less expected to escape his notice. He is acquainted with the phrase "Sons of Liberty," for he says (p. 361,) "thus did the opposition parties in America continue (in 1769) to call themselves." But it seems he did not know that it had its origin in 1765, in the enthusiasm for Barré's speech, who had used it. For this fact, which in America is so notorious as to need no proof, we appeal, for Lord Mahon's satisfaction, to Ingersoll's pamphlet; who says, (p. 16, note,) "I believe I may claim the honor of having been the author of this title, (Sons of Liberty,) however little personal good I have got by it, having been the only person, by what I can discover, who transmitted Mr. Barré's speech to America."

It is perhaps scarcely worth while to mention that the device of a snake cut in pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the several colonies affixed to the parts, with the motto "Join or Die," which appeared at the head of the "Constitutional Courant" after the passage of the Stamp Act, was not contrived for that occasion, as Lord Mahon (p. 133) appears to suppose. It was invented by Franklin, at the beginning of the previous war, with the design of uniting the colonies against the French, and was published at that time in his newspaper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette."*

* See Sparks's *Writings of Franklin*, vol. iii. p. 25.

Of not much more consequence is a mistake a little further on, if it were not for the unpleasant use which it is made to serve. After the signature of the treaty of peace in 1783, a story was current in England that Franklin appeared on that occasion in the same dress of "Manchester velvet," in which he had been clad, when, eight years before, he was the object of Wedderburn's vituperation before the Privy Council; thus showing the deep resentment with which he had treasured up the remembrance of that scene. Lord Mahon says, (vol. v. p. 495,) "Mr. Sparks has given some strong reasons against the truth of this story," and adds, referring to that gentleman's edition of Franklin's Writings, (vol. i. p. 488,) "But Mr. Sparks is quite mistaken when he proceeds to say that this story was fabricated in England, 'to gratify the malevolence of a disappointed party.'" But this is not precisely what Mr. Sparks did proceed to say. Mr. Sparks's words were these: "The report was fabricated in England at a time when the treaty was a topic of vehement discussion; and it was eagerly seized upon to gratify the malevolence of a disappointed party." Now there can be no question that a story may be fabricated as a pleasantry, and afterwards seized upon for a purpose. And this is a distinction which apparently Mr. Sparks meant to make; at all events, it is one which his language intimates. And Lord Mahon should recognize the difference between fabricating a thing, which his Lordship never does himself, and seizing upon it when fabricated, an error from which (as in the case of the Baroness Riedesel's reports,) he is not equally exempt. He goes on to say, that the story "was told by one whom Mr. Sparks will hardly consider an adherent of what he terms the malevolent and disappointed party, namely, Dr. Priestley, and it was vouched for most distinctly by Dr. Bancroft, an American, and an intimate friend of Franklin." And for this he refers to Sparks's Franklin.* But here his Lordship is still more astray. He well knows the difference between the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, and the treaty of alliance with France in 1778; and if he had overlooked it, the very note of Mr.

* Vol. iv. p. 453.

Sparks, to which he refers, read carefully, would have brought it to his mind. That note cites the authority of Dr. Priestley and Dr. Bancroft for an incident of the signing of the treaty of 1778, and not at all of the treaty of 1783, as Lord Mahon imagines. These things are not material. But a writer of his Lordship's reputation has a character for exactness to maintain; and especially he cannot be too careful as to accuracy in quotations and references, when he intends to make them the basis of censorious comment.

In December, 1776, a large building in the dock-yard at Portsmouth was consumed by fire. Soon after, a quantity of combustibles was found concealed in another building of the same establishment; and, still later, attempts were made to fire the shipping at Plymouth and Bristol. Suspicion fell upon a young Englishman, named Aitken, who had been in America, and who was otherwise called John the Painter. While in gaol, a fellow-craftsman gained his confidence, and

"John the Painter was by degrees drawn in to own to his false friend that he was engaged in a design of setting fire to the several dock-yards, and thus destroying the navy of Great Britain, and that he had been more than once to Paris to concert his measures for that object with Mr. Silas Deane. 'Do you not know Silas Deane?' he asked. 'What, no, — not Silas Deane?' He is a fine clever fellow; and I believe Benjamin Franklin is employed on the same errand.' The prisoner added that Silas Deane had encouraged him in his noble enterprise, inquiring all the particulars, and supplying him with the money he wanted." Vol. vi. pp. 217, 218.

As Franklin had just arrived in France when the Portsmouth dock-yard was set on fire, and had not yet reached Paris, Lord Mahon, in a note, acquits him of any privity to the transaction. But he does it with little grace, thinking proper to add, —

"Yet some persons may consider as significant the hint which he drops in a letter to Dr. Priestley many months before: 'England has begun to burn our seaport towns; secure, I suppose, that we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind.' Works, vol. viii. p. 156." Vol. vi. pp. 217, 218.

This was said by Franklin in allusion to the burning of Charlestown by the British, during the battle of Bun-

ker Hill. If Lord Mahon regards those words of Franklin as affording any presumption that Franklin or his countrymen would be disposed to send incendiaries into the cities of England to retaliate that act of military wantonness, then perhaps less importance is to be attached to his Lordship's opinion of Silas Deane, on whom, for want of such a proof of *alibi* as Franklin's, he appears willing to allow the Painter's charge to rest.

But to go back again some years. We cannot quite acquiesce in Lord Mahon's estimate of Sir Francis Bernard, though we are aware that he is not without apparently good authority for his opinion. We think we could point to not a few occasions on which a man, such as he describes Bernard, would not have acted as Bernard did. We have materials for arguing the point, but, on the whole, we must pass it by, as requiring an induction of facts too large for our present limits. Lord Mahon says that Bernard was "a man of ability and firmness, but harsh and quarrelsome." We could not select the epithet "harsh" as well characterizing him, and we are by no means clear that he should be called "quarrelsome." Sir Francis was an accomplished man, of unexceptionable private life, and of distinguished talents for society. He had governed New Jersey very satisfactorily to the people. Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction occasioned by the appointment of Hutchinson as Chief Justice, he was, on the whole, popular through the first three years — Hutchinson says, through the first five years — of his administration of Massachusetts, and the provincial government gave him substantial tokens of its good will. But he was not rich; he had a large family to provide for; and this was to be done through official preferment, which accordingly he was always seeking. The way to preferment was through ministerial favor, and the way to the favor of court and ministry when George the Third was king, and George Grenville was minister, was through a lofty assertion of the prerogative. He stood for prerogative confidently, ably, and at the same time imprudently. Had he been more cunning, he would have dealt more in generals. He spread his argument too much, volunteered too many applications of his principles, and exposed too many points to attack. He was engaged

with abler men than himself. Otis, Adams, and Bowdoin made wild work with his state papers. Such refutations as he got from them are of the things that drive wise men mad. It was hardly in human nature — it was not in that of Sir Francis — to bear them with equanimity. Had there been less in him, he would have ventured less, and sought quiet in inefficiency. As it was, his conscious ability, stimulated by his needy ambition, tempted him to repeated conflicts, and so involved him, again and again, in vexatious defeats. That under such circumstances, he should have sometimes betrayed irritation, and suffered himself to be driven to undignified expedients, we do not think justifies calling him "harsh and quarrelsome." But perhaps this is not much more than a dispute about words, and at all events we have not space to pursue it. Champion of parliamentary supremacy as he was, Bernard was opposed to the Stamp Act.* His independent good sense, had he been left to follow it, would have saved him from many indiscretions. It was not so much ill temper that led him into them, as the erroneous estimates of popular opinion into which he was seduced by the crown officers and their adherents. He was never, by any means, so much an object of dislike as Hutchinson became, though it is true, this was partly owing to the feeling that Hutchinson, as a Massachusetts man, had added treachery to oppression.

"In Rhode Island," says Lord Mahon, "there had taken place a most daring outrage during the past year, (1772,) when a king's ship, the Gaspee schooner, which was employed against the illicit traders, was boarded, set on fire, and destroyed."† Daring, undoubtedly, that affair may well be called. The Gaspee was boarded

* "I would not presume to give advice to his Majesty's ministers of State; but yet I hope I shall be excused when I reveal my earnest wishes, that some means may be found to make it consistent with the dignity of parliament to put the Stamp Act out of the question, at least for the present." *Bernard's Letter to Secretary Conway*, of October 28th, 1765, in "*Select Letters*" of Bernard (London, 1774,) p. 28. "I heartily disapproved of the Stamp Act, before it passed. I voted against it, and doubt not I shall vote for the repeal. I knew your sentiments were the same as mine on this subject." R. Jackson to Bernard, November 8th, 1765, in *Massachusetts State Papers*, (Boston, 1818,) p. 70.

† Vol. v. p. 483.

at midnight, in Narragansett Bay, from eight boats from Providence, set on fire, and destroyed. On the arrival of the intelligence in England, a royal proclamation was issued offering a large reward for the discovery of the perpetrators, and a royal commission proceeded to Rhode Island, and made laborious scrutiny for their detection; but they kept each other's counsel, and were not discovered. There had been plenty of "outrage" on the part of the petty officer in command of the vessel, to provoke her fate. Contrary to English law, he had sent property, seized by him, out of the colony, for trial at Boston; and in a letter of complaint to Lord Hillsborough, the Governor of Rhode Island had had occasion to represent that "since the Gaspee and Beaver have been stationed in this colony, the inhabitants have been insulted without any just cause, with the most abusive and contumelious language, and I am sorry that I have reason to say that the principal officers belonging to said vessels have exercised that power with which they are vested, in a wanton and arbitrary manner." A previous correspondence on the subject between the Governor and Admiral Montague, commanding on the station, had been conducted by that officer with the insolence customary with the officers of the royal navy in their communications with the colonial governments in those times.*

Lord Mahon habitually looks upon the people and the measures of Massachusetts with less favor than upon those of the other colonies. In April, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts addressed a letter to a missionary among the Indians of the Six Nations, requesting him to use his "influence with them to join with us in the defence of our rights; but if you cannot prevail with them," it continues, "to take an active part in this glorious cause, that you will at least engage them to stand neuter, and not by any means to aid and assist our enemies." The former of the two clauses which we have quoted, Lord Mahon cites, with an unpleasant paraphrase of his own.† For the letter, he refers in a note to Mr. Sparks's edition of *Washington's Writings*, (vol. iii. p. 495,)

* The story is told, and the whole evidence collected in a pamphlet published by William R. Staples, at Providence, in 1845. See also Gordon's *History*, vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

† Vol. vi. p. 53.

and adds: "The pretext assigned for this application was a rumor, 'that those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with those Nations,' — an assertion very easy to make." It was an assertion very easy to make. But as Lord Mahon might have learned from that very note of Mr. Sparks, to which he has referred for the letter, there were facts which made it appear to be also an assertion pretty easy to substantiate. Several months before, a committee, of which Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and John Hancock were members, had been directed by the Congress to correspond with persons in Canada for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of movements in that province.* Emissaries were likewise despatched to Canada, instructed to consult with the friends of the American cause, and report such information as they might procure. They had reported "that secret agents had been sent among the Indians of the Six Nations to gain them over and stir them up against the colonists," — intelligence, the correctness of which was substantiated by the shocking butchery of Americans at the Cedars, early in the following year, by Indians under the command of a British officer. In a letter to General Schuyler, towards the close of the same year, Washington speaks of proofs before possessed "of the ministry's intention to engage the savages against us" as "incontrovertible," and adds that they were then recently confirmed by some intercepted despatches.†

In respect to the first battle of the Revolution, that of the 19th of April, 1775, Lord Mahon very correctly uses the following language.

"Before the British, now exhausted with long marching, could again reach Lexington their retreat had grown into a rout. Their utter destruction would have ensued had not General Gage, to guard against any adverse turn of fortune, sent forward that very morning another detachment under Lord Percy to support them.‡ That new force they found just arrived at Lexington. Here Lord Percy's men formed a hollow square, into which the British of the first detachment flung themselves at full length, utterly

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* *Journals of the Provincial Congresses*, p. 59; Dec. 6th, 1774.

† Sparks's *Washington*, vol. iii. p. 210.

‡ In fact, Colonel Smith had sent back to General Gage for this reinforcement early in the morning, on finding that the country was alarmed.

spent with fatigue, says one of their own Commissaries, and 'their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase!' After some brief interval for rest and refreshment the whole united force, amounting to eighteen hundred men, continued the retreat, and towards sunset reached the shores of Boston harbor, harassed all the way by the American's fire from behind stone walls and every other place of ambush." Vol. vi. pp. 55, 56.

This, one would think, might pass for a defeat, on Lord Mahon's own showing. But he is not content to leave it so. He must needs complain that,

"The retreat of the British troops to Boston, which was always intended as soon as they had accomplished the object of their march, was held forth as an undesigned and ignominious flight before a conquering enemy." Vol. vi. p. 57.

Why it should not be, we should like to know. As to its being "ignominious," we will not quarrel about words, nor do we care to insist that it is ignominious to run when there is nothing to be got by standing. But as to its being an "undesigned flight before a conquering enemy," we cannot for our lives see how there can be two opinions. We suppose it was not "intended" by General Gage, that his troops, "as soon as they had accomplished the object of their march," should come back from Concord to Boston upon a trot, a trot which "became a gallop soon." We take it to have been no part of that officer's plan to have the retrograde movement of his men so rapid, that when met by Lord Percy's detachment, and received into a hollow square, where they were protected by artillery against king's arms and fowling-pieces, they "flung themselves at full length, utterly spent with fatigue, and their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase." Nor do we believe it to have been a feature of General Gage's sketch of operations for the day, that even the reinforcing party should owe it only to the approach of night, that a man of them got back to tell the day's story. To say that the British behaved on that occasion as well as circumstances permitted, may be fair enough. But to pretend that they were not disastrously beaten is puerile.*

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* In a note, Lord Mahon refers to Colonel Smith's report to General Gage, in

As Lord Mahon carried on the early dispute with England without the help of Otis or Adams, so he makes shift to fight the battle of Bunker Hill without Prescott or Putnam. Certainly, in a military point of view, Bunker Hill was not Waterloo. But the story of Waterloo would be as complete without Wellington, as that of Bunker Hill without Prescott.

"The Americans also received from their main army a large accession of force, led on by Dr. Joseph Warren, the physician of Boston, who had lately become the President of the Massachusetts Congress, and been raised (by his own authority in fact) to the rank of Major-General." Vol. vi. p. 83.

This is all wrong. General Warren was raised to the rank of Major-General on the 14th day of June, not at all by his own authority, but like other general officers, by a vote of the Provincial Congress. He led no "large accession of force" to Bunker Hill. He went alone, with his musket on his shoulder, and just before the action began, reported himself to Prescott as a volunteer, declining the command which Prescott offered him.

Of the numbers engaged at Bunker Hill, Lord Mahon says, —

"One account, published in Rhode Island, swells the British to five thousand, while reducing the Americans to two thousand men, thus nearly inverting the true numbers. . . . The more judicious and candid American historians have since admitted their troops to have amounted to four thousand. But if we may rely on the official relation, addressed by General Gage to the Secretary of State, the British in this battle were opposed by 'above three times their own number,' — that is, by upwards of seven thousand men." Vol. vi. p. 89.

There is no certainty to be had on this subject. But by the side of Lord Mahon's argument, we will put down

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which that officer charged the Americans with having "scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of our men, who were either killed or severely wounded, this being seen by a party that marched by soon after." What is true of this story is bad enough. As the militia drove the British from Concord bridge, a young man killed with a hatchet a wounded soldier who lay in his way. It was a brutal act. We wish that innumerable such acts had not occcurred, before and since, in the heat of fight. As to the scalping of either one or two men, we presume that there is not a particle of proof of such an occurrence, and Colonel Smith's own vague way of making the representation is not such as to entitle it to credit.

that of Mr. Frothingham, who, in his very learned and trustworthy "History of the Siege of Boston," gives the result of his investigations as follows.

"So conflicting are the authorities, that the number of troops engaged on either side cannot be precisely ascertained. 'The number of the Americans during the battle,' Colonel Swett says, 'was fluctuating, but may be fairly estimated at three thousand five hundred, who joined in the battle, and five hundred more who covered the retreat.' General Putnam's estimate was two thousand two hundred. General Washington says, the number engaged at any one time, was one thousand five hundred, and this was adopted by Dr. Gordon. This is as near accuracy as can be arrived at. General Gage, in his official account states the British force at 'something over two thousand,' and yet the same account acknowledges one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded. This certainly indicates a force far larger than two thousand. Neither British accounts, nor the British plans of the battle, mention all the regiments that were in the field. Thus, the movements of the second battalion of marines are not given; yet the official table of loss states that it had seven killed and thirty wounded; and Clarke, also, states it was not until after the Americans had retreated, that General Gage sent over this second battalion, with four regiments of foot, and a company of artillery. Americans, who counted the troops as they left the wharves in Boston, state that five thousand went over to Charlestown; and, probably, not less than four thousand were actually engaged." pp. 190, 191.

With much better reason than when he was treating of the 19th of April, Lord Mahon stoutly maintains that his countrymen were not beaten at Bunker Hill.

"The Americans at that period — and some of them even to the present day — have claimed the battle of Bunker's Hill as a victory. Yet considering that the British were left in possession of the ground and maintained it for several months to come, and considering also that, of six pieces of artillery which the Americans brought into action, they carried away but one, there can surely be no question that according to the rules of war they must be considered as defeated." Vol. vi. p. 88.

Lord Mahon may have some authority in view with which we are not acquainted; but when he shall quote the American writer of the present day, or of 1775, or of any day between the two, who has called the battle of

Bunker Hill a victory of the Americans in the common sense of that word, he will give us information which we are not prepared for. In its moral effect, it was so great an exploit as to be worth fifty common victories. It taught the New England people a little of what they could do against cannon and discipline; and it taught the other colonies to rely on the New England people and on themselves. Had Prescott had a few more rounds of powder and ball, there is the best reason to believe that it would have been a magnificent American victory. It might, or it might not, have been followed by a victory, if General Ward had acceded to Prescott's urgent solicitation to return the next night, and retake the ground with all the advantage of his own intrenchments against him. But, as to the rest, after living, man and boy, almost within the shadow of Bunker Hill for more than half a century, we protest that we do not remember to have known it called an American victory, in speech or writing, by one of our countrymen. The English captain, Hamilton, in his entertaining work on "Men and Manners in America," appears to have thought that this battle was gained by General Washington. But we suppose that all American men, women, and children know as well that it was not gained by the Americans, as they know that General Washington neither won nor lost it.

Lord Mahon has a happy way of drawing characters. But sometimes his portraitures lack completeness. Of Colonel Ethan Allen, of Vermont, the captor of Ticonderoga, he says, —

> "He was not even a believer in the Christian Revelation, but composed a book against it, entitled 'Reason the only Oracle of Man.' The void left in his mind by religious truth was, as we have often seen it, filled by silly fancies. According to some of his biographers, he was wont to assure his friends that he expected to return to this life, not indeed once more as a biped, but in the form of a 'large white horse!'" Vol. vi. p. 60.

And for this anecdote he refers to Mr. Sparks's Life of Allen, in the American Biography. So far, so good. But Mr. Sparks introduces the story with the remark that "some of his (Allen's) biographers have not done him strict justice in regard to his religious opinions." And

then, having told the story, Mr. Sparks goes on to say, what if Lord Mahon had gone on to quote, he would have given his readers a better comprehension and a less unfavorable view of Allen's sentiments on the great subject of religion.

"If he was absurd and frivolous enough to say such a thing in conversation, he has certainly expressed very different sentiments in his writings. No person could declare more explicitly his belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, and a just retribution, than he has done in the following passage contained in this book.

"'We should so far divest ourselves,' he observes, 'of the incumbrances of this world, which are too apt to engross our attention, as to acquire a consistent system of the knowledge of our duty, and make it our constant endeavor in life to act conformably to it. The knowledge of the being, perfections, creations, and providence of God, and the immortality of our souls, is the foundation of our religion.' Again, 'as true as mankind now exist and are endowed with reason and understanding, and have the power of agency and proficiency in moral good and evil, so true it is, that they must be ultimately rewarded or punished according to their respective merits or demerits; and it is as true as this world exists, and rational and accountable beings inhabit it, that the distribution of justice therein is partial, unequal, and uncertain; and it is consequently as true as that there is a God, that there must be a future state of existence, in which the disorder, oppression, and viciousness which are acted and transacted by mankind in this life, shall be righteously adjusted, and the delinquents suitably punished.'" Am. Biog. i. 351, 352.

We have not space to discuss the vexed question of the paper currency, called *Continental Money*, issued by Congress during the war. Lord Mahon despatches it too easily.

"Considering the subsequent extension of their national wealth, and the great pride which they have ever felt in the origin and event of their Revolutionary War, it might be supposed that all the obligations contracted in and for that war had been promptly and punctually discharged. This, however, has by no means been the case." Vol. vi. p. 62.

Two hundred millions of dollars, in nominal value, were issued from time to time, within a period of six years. There was a great deficiency of other circulating

medium in the country, and for nearly two years this passed readily at par. It then began to *depreciate*, and continued to do so, while the necessities of Congress compelled them to make new emissions. These issues did not go into circulation at their nominal value, but at the rate of depreciation at which the currency stood in the market. It has been estimated that the actual value received by Congress for the nominal two hundred millions was not more than about thirty-six millions of silver dollars.* Lord Mahon tells a story (vi. 416) of a British officer of the Convention troops, who, in 1779, paid an innkeeper's bill of seven hundred and thirty-two pounds, with four guineas and a half in gold; and a writer of that day, well informed on the subject, says that the circulation of the paper "was never more brisk and quick than when its exchange was five hundred to one." † In one point of view, the whole operation was of the nature of a tax, each person, through whose hands the money passed, parting with it again at a loss proportioned to the quantity he held, and the time he held it.

Undoubtedly there were great hardships incident to this process; but, as the currency circulated among the whole people, passing through the hands of rich and poor in proportion to the respective amounts of their purchases and sales, the losses were divided among them somewhat in proportion to their ability and liability to pay a tax. To redeem it in a way to remunerate the individuals who, in the gradual progress of depreciation, had sustained the losses, was obviously impossible; and there certainly appeared great hardship, on the other hand, in paying the value borne on the face of the paper to a holder who had taken it at the rate of five hundred for one, when the payment would have to be made by a second tax on the same persons who had already been all but intolerably taxed through the very depreciation which was now to be made up. These are but hints. If Lord Mahon will look a little into the discussions of the subject which took place soon after, or if he will but read a letter written to the Count de Vergennes, in June, 1780, by John Adams, which he may find in the forthcoming seventh volume of

* Jefferson's *Works*, i. 412.

† Webster's *Political Essays*, p. 175.

that great statesman's Works, he will own, if we mistake not, that the question is not so simple as to his quick mind it has appeared.

Ethan Allen took the fort at Ticonderoga, May 10th, 1775. On receiving intelligence of that event, Congress resolved, May 18th, that, "whereas there is indubitable evidence that a design is formed by the British ministry, of making a cruel invasion from the province of Quebec upon these colonies for the purpose of destroying our lives and liberties," and seeing that the cannon and stores at Ticonderoga would certainly be "used in the intended invasion of these colonies, this Congress earnestly recommend it to the cities and counties of New York and Albany immediately to cause the said cannon and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George." And on the 1st of June it was further resolved that "no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony or body of colonies against or into Canada." Yet, on the 27th of the same month, Congress instructed General Schuyler to repair without delay to Ticonderoga, and, "if he found it practicable, and it would not be disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, and pursue any other measures in Canada which might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies." In view of these facts, Lord Mahon exclaims, —

"Hard task to vindicate on this occasion either the good faith or the consistency of the American rulers! Mr. Sparks attempts it, by pleading that in the interval between their two Resolutions they had received reports that General Carleton was preparing an invasion against themselves. But the apologist forgets that, even some days previous to their Resolution of the 1st of June, they had in the most solemn manner declared themselves in possession of 'indubitable evidence' that such an invasion was designed." Vol. vi. p. 115.

"Hard task to vindicate," &c.! Why so? On the contrary, does not the whole proceeding hang together like network? And is it not merely Lord Mahon's own careless reading of the resolutions on which he comments, that has drawn from him such an ungracious stricture? By the terms of its preamble, which Lord Mahon overlooks when he comes to argue upon it, though he had

before quoted them correctly, (p. 92,) the resolution of May 18th was founded on alleged evidence of "a design formed *by the British ministry*, of making a cruel invasion," &c., a design which it might take months to mature, and which, in respect to the course of counteraction required, was an exceedingly different thing from the actual commencement of operations on the frontier by the Governor of Canada. Between the 1st and the 27th of June, a Committee at Albany sent information to Congress that "General Carleton was fortifying St. John's, building boats, and preparing to make a descent on Lake Champlain, and attack Crown Point and Ticonderoga." Here was a pretty clear call for immediate action; and accordingly, on the latter of these days, were despatched the orders to General Schuyler to make a counter invasion. "Hard task to vindicate on this occasion" the common sense "of the American rulers," if they had not altered their plans to conform to such altered circumstances!

Lord Mahon thinks that the Marquis de Montcalm foretold the independence of the American States.

> "It had been a saying of the Marquis de Montcalm, that our conquests along the St. Lawrence would hereafter lead to the severance of our own American colonies from the parent State, and that France would thus obtain a compensation for her loss." Vol. vi. p. 143.

And in a note he adds, that "on the prediction of the Marquis de Montcalm, and on this whole branch of the subject," he "would refer the reader to that most able speech on colonial government, delivered by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, February 8, 1850."

"It had been a saying of the Marquis de Montcalm," &c. How does Lord Mahon know that? Not, we presume, at second-hand from Lord John Russell's most able speech of February 8, 1850, which contains a mere passing allusion to Montcalm's Letters,* but from those letters themselves. Has Lord Mahon seen that book? If so, what does he think of it? Has he attended to its history and its structure, which are, briefly, as follows: In the year 1777, — Montcalm having died in 1759, of his wound

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* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. cviii. p. 538.

before Quebec,— there appeared in London this pamphlet, consisting of what purport to be letters written by Montcalm to Messrs. De Berryer and De la Molé during his command in Canada, and containing speculations on various topics, commercial, military, and political; among which is expressed (p. 24) the opinion to which Lord Mahon refers. Soon after the publication of this pamphlet, in the course of a debate in Parliament on Lord Chatham's motion for an address to the king, Lord Shelburne declared that the letters "had been discovered to be a forgery;"* and, though Lord Mansfield insisted that they were "not spurious,"† no attempt appears to have been made in any quarter to establish their genuineness. No explanation was given of the manner in which the letters were obtained from France. They are printed in French and English on opposite pages. Will Lord Mahon look at them and say whether he is prepared to pronounce that the French was the original, and the English the translation, instead of the opposite having been the fact? As his Lordship, like a more famous English historian, began his literary career with a book in French, he should be a better judge of this matter than ourselves; but, to our thinking, there are Anglicisms in the turns of phrase of the French copy, rather than Gallicisms in those of the English. The prophetical letter is dated "Camp before Quebec, Aug. 24, 1759," in the critical part of the campaign, three weeks before the fatal battle. Perhaps Lord Mahon believes,— but we do not,— that it was with such communications to his Parisian friends that the French commander amused his leisure in the intervals between sending fire-ships into Wolfe's fleet and cannonading his camp across the Montmorenci.

After describing the evacuation of Boston, in March, 1776, Lord Mahon proceeds to say:—

"The Congress voted that in commemoration of this great event there should be struck a medal in gold and bronze; and it was struck accordingly, not indeed for lack of an artist in America, but by their direction, in France." Vol. vi. p. 128.

The history of the medal is of no great consequence.

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* *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. vii. p. 122. † Ibid. p. 127.

But, if told, it is as well to have it told correctly. The votes simply were, first, one of thanks to Washington and the troops under his command, and then "that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency." * Nothing is said of bronze, or of the place at which the medal should be made. Eleven medals were voted by Congress to officers who had distinguished themselves in different actions during the war, but in no instance was it directed that they should be struck in France. On the 6th of July, 1779, Congress voted "that the Board of the Treasury cause the medals in honor of the commander-in-chief and other officers of the United States, to be struck without delay." Much delay, however, still followed; the medals for Washington, Gates, Greene, and several other officers, were not procured till four years after the signature of the treaty of peace. They were all executed in Paris, for the good reason that they could be done there in much better style than was at that time possible in the United States. Lord Mahon does more than justice to the claims of American art in the last century.†

In connection with the account of operations on Long Island, in 1776, we find the following astonishing sentence.

"The command of this important post was intrusted by Washington to General Greene, an officer of bravery and enterprise, but of intemperate habits." Vol. vi. p. 164.

When Lord Mahon knows the wrong he has done to the memory of an illustrious and blameless man, he will feel more pain than we feel in recording it. After Washington, there is no military worthy, of the revolutionary age, whom this country remembers with such veneration as Greene. No whisper of such a charge as this was ever before heard against him. Nothing of the sort can be better known than that it is utterly without foundation. Lord Mahon quotes La Fayette in support of his assertion.

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* *Journals of Congress*, Vol. ii. pp. 108, 109.

† The story of the procuring of all the medals in France is told in a letter of Colonel Humphreys, of November, 1787, published in the *American Museum*, Vol. ii. p. 493.

"*Greene, un général souvent ivre.* These are the words of La Fayette; Mem. et Corresp. vol. i. p. 21, ed. 1837." *Ibid.*

But he quotes La Fayette incorrectly, and misunderstands him. La Fayette's words were these, according to the copy of his "*Mémoire, Correspondance*," &c. which lies before us.

"Lord Stirling, plus brave que judicieux, un autre général souvent ivre, *Greene, dont les talents n'étoient encore connus que de ses amis,* commandoient en qualité de Major-généraux." Tome i. p. 21.

Who the second general was, who was "often drunk," is no secret. He was soon dismissed from the army for misconduct at the battle of Germantown, occasioned by his bad habit. But it is enough for us that it was not Greene, of whom La Fayette's whole description is that "his talents were as yet only known to his friends." La Fayette knew already and admired them, and the modest and noble character which they adorned; and continued to do so more and more. In this reference Lord Mahon has but committed a singular negligence. But what is to be thought of the knowledge of an historian, writing upon the American Revolution so much in the dark as to make it possible for him to pass by General Greene as "an officer of bravery and enterprise, but of intemperate habits?" When one page represents Greene as a sot, one would scarcely be surprised to find the next declaring that Jefferson was an idiot.

Lord Mahon refers, without positively adopting it, to the story told by Mr. Adolphus, (ii. 440,) on the authority of "private information," of Washington's having received from Benedict Arnold, on a visit of that officer to headquarters, the first suggestion of "the idea of attempting to recross the Delaware, and surprise some part of the King's troops." * Arnold arrived in camp a week before that exploit. But, several days before he came, Washington had written to Governor Trumbull that he meditated "a stroke upon the forces of the enemy, who," he adds, "lie a good deal scattered, and, to all appearance, in a state of security." † In fact, the importance of such an attempt seems

* Vol. vi. p. 195. † Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. iv. p. 541.

now so obvious, that it may reasonably be supposed to have occupied his thoughts from the time he crossed the Delaware in his retreat. We suppose that the author is equally in error in attributing to Arnold the original conception of "the daring and skilful scheme" of the expedition from Cambridge through the wilderness to Quebec.* Washington's correspondence indicates nothing of the kind. September 21st, he wrote, "I am now to inform the honorable Congress that, encouraged by the repeated declarations of the Canadians and Indians, and urged by their request, I have detached Colonel Arnold," &c.† The plan was matured about the middle of August, between the commander-in-chief and several members of Congress, who were then in camp, during a short adjournment of that body.

Of La Fayette Lord Mahon speaks in the offensive terms common with the writers of his school, when referring to that illustrious man.‡ We cannot go into a survey of the life of La Fayette or into a vindication of his course through a long, varied, and eminent career. We formerly treated these subjects at length, down to the time of his visit to this country in 1824.§ But we must not omit to say, that, in the part which he took in the American war, he acquitted himself with uniform discretion, fidelity, courage, and honor. Considering his youth and inexperience (he was not yet twenty years old when he was appointed a major-general in the American army), considering that he was acting with and upon a people of different country, language, and habits, there are few examples indeed on record of such success as his in discharging the duties of a high station, and winning universal confidence and esteem. He was always placed in as high command as his rank would permit; he committed no mistakes; he failed on no occasion to obtain the cordial approbation of his superiors and of the country. "As a general, it can scarcely be pretended," says Lord Mahon, "that his exploits were either many or considerable." What does his Lordship think, on reflection,

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* Vol. vi. p. 116.
† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. iii. p. 102.
‡ Vol. vi p. 231.
§ N. A. Review, Vol. xx. p. 147, *et seq.*

of the wisdom of that remark? In the course of his historical studies, how many generals has he found, in any time, who have performed "exploits either many or considerable," in proportion to those who have done their duty, and served their country well? Meritorious conduct, his Lordship knows, is a thing that does not depend on fortune. Brilliant achievement is a thing that partly does depend upon it. La Fayette's "exploits" were equal to his opportunities. He proved himself a brave, discreet, sagacious, energetic officer. In command of the American forces in the Virginia campaign of 1781, he had the dexterity to foil the tactics of Lord Cornwallis, who had written home, "The boy cannot escape me,"* and to push that officer with his army of seven or eight thousand men into the trap of the fortified lines of Yorktown, where they laid down their arms, and virtually closed the war. His character and his military talents always commanded the respect and confidence of Washington, never lightly given; and at the peace, he retired from the army and the country universally beloved.

Referring to Sir Henry Clinton's expedition up the Hudson in the autumn of 1777, with a view to forming a junction with Burgoyne, Lord Mahon says,—

"So important was this diversion of Clinton, that, could it have taken place only one week or ten days sooner,—could the tidings of it have reached Burgoyne at any time, he says, between the two actions on Behmus's Heights,—it was the deliberate opinion of that officer, formed after the event, that he would have been enabled to make his way to Albany, and that final success would therefore have attended his campaign." Vol. vi. p. 281.

General Burgoyne, in his "Narrative," (p. 17,) expressed that opinion, which, under his circumstances, it was not unnatural for him to entertain. It was against all probability, however. He capitulated nine days after the second battle of Behmus's Heights, at which time, according to Lord Mahon,† his force was reduced to 3500 effective men, and his provisions were nearly exhausted, while the American army under Gates numbered 13,000 men, well supplied. If the comparatively small detachment, sent up

* Gordon, Vol. iv. p. 111. † Vol. vi. p. 286.

the Hudson by General Clinton, which was engaged in burning Kingston at the time of Burgoyne's capitulation, had been ten days earlier in its movement, and had contrived to effect a landing near Albany, it is to the last degree improbable that it would have been able to penetrate through the force which would have been collected in that city and the adjacent country, so as to form a junction with Burgoyne.

It is a mistake that "General Schuyler, on being removed from his command by Congress, had continued to serve as a volunteer in Gates's army," (p. 285.) He felt the injustice of being superseded by an officer inferior in rank, and, immediately on surrendering the command to Gates, retired to Albany, where he remained till after the capitulation. In fact, this important campaign is, in various parts, imperfectly described. The defeat of St. Leger at Fort Stanwix is barely mentioned,* and the brilliant exploit of Colonel Brown before Ticonderoga, in September, when he captured three hundred men, and liberated a hundred American prisoners,† is not mentioned at all, though both were events which materially contributed to the failure of Burgoyne's expedition. The following imputation demands much more serious rebuke:

"General Gates . . . . . was found willing to recede from his first pretensions. He rightly judged it unwise to drive to utter despair even a far inferior number of brave and disciplined troops. He felt that the capitulation of such troops on almost any terms, and under almost any circumstances, would be a most solid advantage, and would shed on the arms of the United States a lustre which as yet they had never known. Judging from the event, I am justified in saying, that another motive also may perhaps have weighed with some, at least, of the Americans. It matters little what terms are granted, if it be not intended to fulfil them!" Vol. vi. p. 278.

Such a reflection on the integrity of the American officers who assented to the capitulation, is gross. The delay in its execution on the part of Congress we shall not undertake to defend. Congress was exasperated by

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* Vol. vi. p. 259.

† See Marshall's *Washington*, Vol. iii. pp. 279, 280; Williams's *History of Vermont*, Vol. ii. pp. 135, 136.

the perfidy of the British commander in the then recent affair of St. Leger. And we could quote officers of the most unblemished honor, who lived and died in the opinion that the Convention from the first was void for material fraud on the part of the defeated party. But we have not met with evidence to that point which completely satisfies our minds.* We think there was misconduct, — we fear there was bad faith, — in relation to the treatment of the Convention troops. But, whatever it was, the responsibility rests on Congress alone. General Gates and his officers had nothing whatever to do with it.

Lord Mahon does generous justice to the hospitality shown by the New York people to the Convention troops, and then proceeds: —

"But on entering Massachusetts the scene was wholly changed. There rancor against the Royalists seemed to have absorbed every other feeling. It is stated by Madame de Riedesel, that whenever she passed in the streets of Boston the female part of the population cast upon her angry looks, and, in sign of their disdain, spat on the ground before her. A far worse token of their rancor is recorded by the same authority. There was a Captain Fenton, of their town, who had gone to England, but had left behind his wife and daughter, the last a beautiful girl of fifteen. At the news that Captain Fenton continued faithful to the King, some women of the lower orders seized on these unhappy ladies, tore off their clothes, and tarred and feathered them, in which condition they were dragged as a show around the town!" Vol. vi. pp. 294, 295.

The first part of this we profess ourselves unable to understand. Forms of insult are conventional. Pulling the nose, for instance, has, among men, a very serious associated significance of this description, though it would be impossible to show that, abstractly, it is suited to convey any meaning of the kind, more than squeezing the hand. Now expectorating on the ground before a per-

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*December 3d, Gates wrote to the President of Congress, "Respecting the standards, General Burgoyne declared upon his honor, that the colors of the regiments were left in Canada." (Gordon, Vol. iii. p. 46.) But the Baroness de Riedesel boasts (*Letters and Memoirs*, p. 200,) of the address with which she got off the colors of the German regiments, by having them quilted into a mattress. Madame de Riedesel's book, however, was not published till 1800.

son is not an American expression of anger or contempt. We never saw or heard of its being done with this design. Inns, streets, steamboats, even the carpeted Halls of Congress would be perpetual Aceldamas, if this were the recognized interpretation of that act. Quite as much are we confounded by the specification of the act itself; for, culpable as the male American must be owned to be in regard to it, our fair countrywomen are blameless of all share in so gross a habit. As authority, however, for this and the other story in the above extract, the reader is referred to the Baroness Riedesel's *Dienst-Reise*, (ss. 192–202. edit. 1801.) The reader will do well to turn to the volume accordingly, which was published in a translation, in New York, twenty-five years ago, and therein he will find it thus written.

"Boston is quite a fine city, but the inhabitants were outrageously patriotic. There were among them many wicked people; and the persons of my own sex were the worst: they gazed at me with indignation, and spit when I passed near them. Mrs. Carter resembled her parents in mildness and goodness of heart; but her husband was revengeful and false. They came often to see us, and dined with us and in company of our generals. We endeavored, by all means, to show them our gratitude; and they seemed to feel much friendship for us; though, at the same time, this wicked Mr. Carter, in consequence of General Howe's having burnt several villages and small towns, suggested to his countrymen to cut off our generals' heads, to pickle them, and to put them in small barrels; and as often as the English should again burn a village, to send them one of these barrels; — but that cruel plan was not adopted.

"I had, during my residence at Bristol, in England, made the acquaintance of a Captain Fenton." *Letters and Memoirs*, p. 196.

And then follows the anecdote of the tarring and feathering of the wife and daughter of Captain Fenton. If Lord Mahon thought the stories of the spitting before the Baroness de Riedesel, and the outrage on the two other ladies, worthy of credit and preservation, why not equally that of the proposal to pickle and barrel up the heads of British generals, which stands between them on the record? The Baroness de Riedesel was a lady deserving all credit when she tells what she has seen,

though she may have put a wrong construction upon it. But the case is not exactly the same as to every thing which she may have heard. Perhaps she did not understand English perfectly well. And perhaps her readiness to believe may have been abused by that "wicked Mr. Carter." If so, Mr. Carter was greatly to blame. But his fault was of a different degree from that of packing British generals' heads in casks, or maltreating loyalist females.

"There [in Massachusetts] rancor against the royalists seemed to have absorbed every other feeling." Party spirit undoubtedly ran very high. How could it be otherwise, when, on the one hand, liberty and life were at stake, — on the other, rank, fortune, and home? Madame de Riedesel was the wife of a person engaged in one of the most nefarious occupations that human mind and muscle can be put to. He and his had no quarrel with us and ours; but he had been let out for hire by the wretch called Elector of Hesse Cassel, to come hither and make our wives and children widows and fatherless. If he could come on such a business, it was very fit that his wife should come with him. Heaven knows he stood enough in need of every solace of domestic love. He failed in what he came for. He sold his own blood, and not ours. We caught him and his attendant reptiles, and drew their fangs. If women whose husbands, fathers, sons, he would have butchered, perhaps had butchered, spat on the ground in sign of anger, as his wife passed, it was a very unfeminine, discourteous, indecent act, though it was evidently an affront designed for him rather than for her; and something may perhaps be pardoned to the rage of those against whom injuries so enormous, so wicked, so unprovoked had been committed, or had only failed of being committed because God's providence and man's valor dashed the miscreants to the earth in the flush of their abominable enterprise.* Burgoyne's troops had also

* We speak no worse of these ruffians than did the friends of America and humanity at the time, in England. "We had," said Lord Chatham, in debate, on the 5th of December, 1777, "swept every corner of Germany for men; we had searched the darkest wilds of America for the scalping-knife; but, those bloody measures being as weak as they were wicked, he recommended that instant orders might be sent to call home the first, and disband

something to blame themselves for, for any inhospitality in respect to their reception in Massachusetts. Gordon, himself an Englishman, and at that time in Massachusetts, says, "While upon their march to the neighborhood of Boston, the British behaved with such insolence as confirmed the country in their determination never to submit. . . . . The Germans stole and robbed the houses as they came along, of clothing and every thing on which they could lay their hands, to a large amount." * Hired stabbers as long as they were in arms, house thieves as soon as they were beaten, they had nothing better to claim, at the hands of meekness itself, than mere forbearance and humanity.

But, after all, Madame de Riedesel had not much to complain of, in her stay in Massachusetts. Massachusetts did not put her in fear, or even in Coventry. She testifies that her household "passed their time in Cambridge [it was a year] quietly and happily." They occupied a spacious mansion, one of the most agreeable residences in the neighborhood of Boston. The Baroness gave frequent dinner parties, balls, and *fêtes*. At one of her balls, she says, —

"We had an excellent supper, to which more than eighty persons sat down. Our yard and garden were illuminated. The king's birth-day falling on the next day, it was resolved that the company should not separate before his Majesty's health was drank, which was done with feelings of the liveliest attachment to his person and to his interests. Never, I believe, was 'God save the king' sung with more enthusiasm or with feelings more sincere. Our two eldest girls were brought into the room to see the illumination. We were all deeply moved, and proud to have the courage to display such sentiments in the midst of our enemies. . . . . When our guests retired, the house was surrounded with people." *Letters and Memoirs*, p. 199.

The police of Cambridge could not have been very rigorous, nor the patriotic mob very intolerant.

Having spoken of the dissatisfaction occasioned to the Americans by Count D'Estaing's sailing with his squad-

the other; for peace, he was certain, would never be effected, as long as the German bayonet and Indian scalping-knife were threatened to be buried in the bowels of our American brethren." See *Correspondence of William Pitt, &c.* Vol. iv. p. 474, 475.

* Vol. iii. p. 44.

ron for the West Indies in November, 1778, Lord Mahon proceeds: —

"They had formed the most sanguine hopes from the French alliance. They had found that alliance as yet little better than a name. Moreover, just before the departure of D'Estaing, he had given them another valid reason for displeasure. He had issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, inviting, though in guarded terms, their return to the sway of their former sovereign. It need scarcely be observed, that such views were most directly repugnant to the terms of the treaty signed only nine months before." Vol. vi. pp. 384, 385.

As we read D'Estaing's proclamation, it admits of no such construction. Having argued in full the reasons urging the Canadians to take part with the Americans against the English, it concludes as follows: "I will not attempt to convince a whole people, for a whole people, when they acquire the right to think and act, know their own interest, that to connect themselves [*se lier*] with the United States is to secure their happiness; but I will declare, as I now formally do, in the name of his Majesty, who has given me authority and instructions to that effect, that all his former subjects in North America, who will no longer recognize the supremacy of England, may rely on his protection and support."* What is this but to say, that, during the contest, they would have the protection and support of France acting in concert with the United States? There is nothing in the language to justify its being interpreted as an invitation to "return to the sway of their former sovereign." The Americans conceived no resentment or jealousy on account of this declaration. It would have been absurd for them to do so. "Valid reason for displeasure" in it there was none, nor a particle of repugnance "to the terms of the treaty, signed only nine months before." By the sixth article of that treaty,† the king of France "renounces the possession of any part of the continent of North America, which, before the treaty of Paris in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown

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* See *Annual Register*, for 1779, p. 355. † *Secret Journal*, Vol. ii. p. 85.

of Great Britain;" and by the fifth article, it was provided that any territory conquered by the United States in the northern parts of America should "be confederated with, or dependent upon, the said States." These stipulations were strictly and faithfully adhered to by the French government throughout the war. If they never lent direct aid to the American invasions of Canada, neither did they throw any obstacles in the way of the execution of those plans; still less did they take any steps whatever to secure Canada for themselves. In fact, they had had quite enough of it in the war of 1758, even if there had been no considerations of good faith with their allies.*

Lord Mahon has his doubts respecting the extent of the feeling in favor of independent and republican institutions, after the Declaration of Independence.

"In tracing the measures of Congress at this juncture, it is to be observed that while most of the members were warm and zealous in prosecution of the war, there was not wanting a minority inclined to absolute and unconditional submission. So much danger would have been incurred by a manifestation of such views, that we cannot expect to find them in any manner clearly or explicitly avowed. But that such a party did exist at Philadelphia, and that in numbers it was considerable, is recorded by most unimpeachable authority; by the Adjutant-General of the American army, himself a Philadelphian, and connected with all the chief houses of that city. Few things, indeed, are more remarkable than the lingering attachment to kingly government which may be traced in these insurgent colonies. So strong was this feeling that, even when every hope was relinquished of returning to the sway of King George, there were some persons who in their stead turned their thoughts to the Pretender — to the Prince Charles of 'The Forty-five.' Some letters to invite him over, and to assure him of allegiance, were addressed to him from Boston at the very commencement of the contest. Thus, also, Mr. Washington Irving was assured by Sir Walter Scott, that among the Stuart Papers which Sir Walter had examined at Carlton House, he had found a Memorial to Prince Charles from some adherents in America, dated 1778, and proposing to set up his standard in the back settlements. These men were not, and could not be, aware of the broken health and degraded habits

* On this subject, see Sparks's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. i. pp. 189, 190.

into which their hero had fallen. They did not, they could not, know the details of his domestic life at Florence. But such was still their reverence for Royalty, that they desired to cling to it even where it might be only the shadow of a shade." Vol. vi. pp. 184, 185.

Mr. Washington Irving's testimony is incontestable, as far as it goes. He says that Walter Scott acquainted him with the contents of a paper in the Stuart collection, which paper is not now to be found, so that the accuracy of Sir Walter's recollection cannot be verified. Supposing it accurate, what did Sir Walter say? That "he had found a memorial to Prince Charles from some adherents in America, dated 1778, and proposing to set up his standard in the back settlements." Where were the "back settlements"? Boston was not one of them. More front settlement than Boston, there was none. In Boston, probably, there were not at that time fifty Catholics, nor probably was there any part of the British dominions where the aversion to that religion was more intense. It is just as credible that the Bostonians, or enough of them to make any figure in a joint letter, should have sent for the Grand Lama to rule over them, as that they should have called in Prince Charles Edward. Boston being, through the whole early history, the principal English place known to the French on this continent, their common name for Anglo-Americans was *Bostonnais.* When Duten quoted the Abbé Fabroni as having seen "letters from Americans of Boston to the Pretender, inviting him to place himself at their head," we presume that by "Americans of Boston" is to be understood men of British America. The letters which Fabroni had seen were probably the same as those afterwards in the hands of Sir Walter Scott. Sir Walter's invited the Pretender "to set up his standard in the back settlements." In 1778, there were "back settlements" under the English flag, but consisting mainly of French Catholics, as the posts of St. Louis, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Vincents, and others, afterwards taken by George Rogers Clark. Till further informed, we shall strongly incline to the opinion that it was from settlements of this description that the invitation was sent to the grandson of James the Second. It is a curious passage in history, and Lord Mahon will do a service by elucidating it further.

And, in connection with the last extract, we remark that he is certainly in error, though it is an error which he shares with most British writers, in his estimate of the number and influence of the American Royalists. While they were more or less numerous in different provinces, — large, for instance, in New York, and small in Massachusetts, — the fact is, that taken in the aggregate, and compared with the whole population, the number was at all times very small. At first, it consisted mainly of crown officers, their dependents and adherents, a few native English "Church and King" men, and a few men of property, conservatives in grain, who preferred tranquil times under the old government to the hazards and discomforts of a revolution. Afterwards, wherever the British army marched or was stationed, it was not unnatural that many of the inhabitants, seeking only quiet and safety in their homes, should, for the time being, maintain friendly relations with the invaders. And this was the case, to a considerable extent, particularly in Pennsylvania and the Southern States. But, on the whole, throughout the country, the men of talent, of education, and of the greatest weight of character, with few exceptions, rallied in a body in opposition to the measures of the British Parliament. Hutchinson was a crown officer, and left the country in that capacity. Of men not holding office under the crown, there was but one American that had made any figure in public life, — Galloway, of Pennsylvania, — who withdrew from the patriot cause, and placed himself under the king's protection. Only about a thousand left Massachusetts when Sir William Howe was driven from Boston, in 1776. As a party, acting in concert, the Royalists effected nothing. They were not of consequence enough for any show of influence on the public counsels after the first year of the war. For some testimony on this subject, to which he will allow great weight, we refer Lord Mahon to John Adams's letters in October, 1780, to the Amsterdam lawyer, Mr. Calkoen, in the forthcoming seventh volume of that statesman's writings; particularly the second, fifth, and seventh letters of the series.

Connected with this mistake of fact is another of opinion. Lord Mahon thinks, that, if Lord Chatham had

lived to take the helm of public affairs, to which all circumstances were inviting him in the year 1778, and had attempted, as he would have done, "to regain the affections while refusing the independence of America," the undertaking would not have been hopeless, (p. 343.) Lord Mahon will undoubtedly abandon this opinion as soon as he shall have read the journals of Congress of that period, or run over the proceedings of the assemblies of the several States, or pursued any other course of inquiry suitable to acquaint him with what was at this time the sentiment and spirit of the whole people of the United Colonies. Just before, the British Ministry had sent out conciliatory bills, yielding almost every thing except independence. And how did Congress receive them? With a unanimous vote, "that these United States cannot with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said States."* This vote was passed before so much as an intimation of the conclusion of the French alliance had been received. Congress was equally decided two years before, when proposals for an accommodation were presented from the Ministry by Lord Howe. In short, whoever supposes that Congress could have been induced to make peace at any time after the Declaration of Independence, on the condition of going back to a colonial state, with any privileges and exemptions whatsoever, only shows himself quite too little acquainted with the invariable sentiments of that body.

But, says Lord Mahon, (p. 345,) "the Provinces might, perhaps, have been inclined to control the deliberations, or even to cast off the sway, of the central body, and make terms of peace for themselves." Than this there can be no wilder dream. From the organization of Congress till the end of the war, the Provinces, or the *States*, as they were called in America, uniformly and cordially acquiesced in its proceedings in relation to the parent country. There was no instance of a remonstrance, or of any formal expression of discontent with

* *Journals of Congress*, Vol. iv. p. 233.

the doings of Congress, from the Assembly of a State, or any association of individuals. Never was a disposition shown to interfere through separate action, or to press local interests. With a federal government as feeble and incompact as well could be, the deficiency was well supplied by a strenuous unanimity of sentiment.

On this point, of the possibility of recalling the Colonies to their allegiance, there can be no sort of doubt that Lord Chatham was in error. So far he did not understand the spirit of their people. His great mind had been in eclipse during part of the time, while the feeling of opposition in America had been maturing. He had lost the bearings of the ship; winds and tides had carried it out of his reckoning. When we add to this the uncompromising character of the man, and the invincible repugnance which he may naturally have felt to see the American empire dismembered, which his brilliant administration had established on so magnificent a footing, we are in some condition to understand his pertinacity. Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond comprehended better the conditions and exigencies of the time, in respect to American affairs. After the capture of Burgoyne's army, in September, 1777, Lord Rockingham and his friends had the discernment to see that the conquest of America was desperate; and they adopted the manly and patriotic part of avowing that conviction in Parliament, and urging the adoption of a policy conformable thereto.* It has lately become known, what had not been unsuspected, that Lord North entertained the same views, but was borne along in his fatal course by a principle of honor, which compelled him to lend himself to the obstinacy of the king.† Had the advice of the Marquis of Rockingham and his friends been taken after the capture of Burgoyne, it would have saved Great Britain five years of costly, discreditable, and unprofitable

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* See the debate in the House of Lords on the motion for adjournment, December 11th, 1777; and in Committee, April 7th, 1778; and those in the House of Commons, February, 23 — March 2d, 1778. (*Parliamentary Register*, Vols. viii. and x.); and speeches of Lord Chatham, and letters to and from him and Lord Rockingham, in December, 1777, and January and February, 1778, in the *Chatham Correspondence*, Vol. iv.

† See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. vi. p. 531, &c., and the Appendix to Lord Mahon's Vol. vi. pp. xxix. – xliii. for the letters of George the Third to Lord North.

war with these States. And there can be extremely little doubt, that an accommodation with America at that juncture would also have averted the war with France and Spain, who would not have ventured upon a breach without the advantage of the hostilities then going on between Great Britain and her ancient Colonies. Lord Rockingham was a statesman of abilities much superior to what Lord Mahon represents them. Britain might have owed him much, had not she, or rather her monarch, been too perverse to hear his counsel. America owes him gratitude for his moderation and candor, as well as respect for his good sense.

We have borne our cordial testimony to Lord Mahon's general good nature. But there is a temptation which besets a person of that temper when he comes to put pen to paper, unless he be at the same time a quite self-relying man. It is that of being occasionally *piquant*, even at the expense of justice, in order to break and relieve a dead level of candor and complacency. Lord Mahon's Tory prejudices have partly dictated the direction in which that seducing impulse should take effect.

To Washington, as we have already said, he almost uniformly does hearty justice; scarcely does George the Third command his reverence more; though to us he greatly impairs the praise bestowed on Washington, by that supposition of his having been laggard in his country's cause, which, perhaps, had some share in buying him the historian's favor. (Vol. v. p. 483.) The supposition is entirely unfounded. Washington was never impetuous, and, until he was forced into the most responsible public position, others claimed the public ear before him. But, from the first, he shared in the counsels of the Virginia patriots, and took as early and resolute a part as any one of them against the usurpations of the British Ministry.* Lord Mahon, perhaps, does not know that the temporary prevalence, to some extent, of a different opinion, was owing to the publication, in 1776, in London and New York, of a collection of spurious letters, in which Washington was represented as expressing to his

* See, on this subject, *Life and Writings of Washington*, Vol. i. p. 116, *et seq.*

friends sentiments inconsistent with his public course, and condemning the Declaration of Independence and the rest of the bold policy of Congress. In this country, where his character was known, the fraud accomplished nothing; the letters were set down for a forgery at once, as he, at a time of more leisure, declared them, under his own hand, to be.

To New England, and especially to Massachusetts, the leading province, Lord Mahon is generally unjust to a painful degree. Of the ability and the services of the patriots of Massachusetts he has no notion; at all events, he gives his readers none. James Otis he almost ignores. Samuel Adams he singles out for the repetition of a scandalous story, though on a sober second thought he takes it back in the Appendix.* John Hancock he commemorates mainly as a smuggling merchant. (Vol. v. p. 356.) James Bowdoin he despatches in a hasty period or two. Josiah Quincy, Jr., he does not know by name. Joseph Warren he knows, or rather misknows, as "the physician of Boston, who had lately become the President of the Massachusetts Congress, and been raised (by his own authority, in fact,) to the rank of major-general," and who led "a large accession of force" to Bunker Hill. Than John Adams, no statesman was more important, to say the least, in the first two Continental Congresses. If Thomas Jefferson, more than any other man, was the author of the document *The Declaration of Independence*, of the Declaration of Independence as a measure, taking place at the time that it did, John Adams was the author, more than any other man. Scarcely less material were his diplomatic services presently after in Europe. Yet Lord Mahon can treat of American politics down to 1780, and find John Adams's place of highest honor in the court-room, where he acted as counsel for Captain Preston; a highly honorable act, no doubt, but scarcely of the same consideration as

* We will help the author for his next edition, so far as to refer him for this story to Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. iii. pp. 294, 295. Strange as it may seem, that his Lordship should never have seen a book on the period of which he treats, of such extreme importance, and one so peculiarly suited to his use, as maintaining the loyalist side, still we believe such to be the fact.

that of his great agency in redeeming the continent to freedom.

"It is not to be supposed that the ferment in any other colonies of North America, — and in some there was, it may be said, no ferment at all, — bore any proportion to that in Massachusetts. . . . . In no other was there the same Cromwellian leaven at work." Vol. v. p. 361.

Amen. Massachusetts was very prompt, resolute, and active, in asserting her chartered privileges and her unchartered rights, in talkative town-meeting, solemn council-chamber, and, in good time, bloody field. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Massachusetts was very "Cromwellian," if Lord Mahon pleases. We have no sort of objection to the phrase. After a not un-Cromwellian fashion, she looked at things in various points of view; she fasted and prayed, and meanwhile filled her magazines, and drilled her demure young yeomanry. Minding a lesson which was her own before it was Cromwell's, she trusted in God and kept her powder dry.

Yet Massachusetts — ugly customer as she was, and more or less had always been, to the king — was at the same time without public spirit, and sordid. This charge Lord Mahon tries to sustain, (vol. vi. p. 122,) by extracts from private letters of Washington to Joseph Reed, in November and February, 1775, 1776, and from a letter to the President of Congress, in December, 1775.

Heaven forbid that we should find fault with any strong expression of Washington's discontent and anxiety at that dismal period! Little money, scarcely any powder, difficult enlistments, inexperienced officers, troops impatient to be discharged, subordination to be introduced into an army of which the officers and privates were at home each other's equals, — his embarrassments were all but intolerable; they would have been intolerable to any mind but such as his. His own responsibilities and difficulties were enough to occupy his thoughts. It was not for him to be thinking of excuses for others, but rather of stimulating them by censure, remonstrance, complaint. But impartial history may and ought to look a little at the other side. These troops, so reluctantly detained in camp, had left their homes unexpectedly in

early spring, and their absence had been prolonged into the depth of winter. Literally, in many instances, leaving the plough in the furrow and the steers yoked, they had come to the war on the signal of Concord battle; and ploughing-time, sowing-time, harvest-time, had passed, while, scantily provided themselves, — so that Washington found them "very deficient in necessary clothing," (vol. iii. p. 21,) — they were still distant from their unprovided families. We shall not maintain that many of them might not have shown more self-sacrifice than they did show, nor shall we deny that such a course would have been more to their honor. We could wish that every Massachusetts man had been a very Curtius in his self-devotion, though perhaps history has not often had to record more of the prevalence of a Curtius spirit than shone forth here in 1775. But, at all events, while the occasions for complaint on one side were most prominent when the conflict was flagrant, it is now time to allow their fair weight to the difficulties on the other. In his answer to the address of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, July 4th, 1775, Washington thought it not unfit to use the following language.

"In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable but arduous station, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country." *Writings,* Vol. iii. p. 14.

In the same paper he very justly says, —

"The course of human affairs forbids an expectation, that troops formed under such circumstances should at once possess the order, regularity, and discipline of veterans." *Ibid.*

The difficulties which he thus reasonably anticipated, and which he afterwards experienced, he was not indisposed to make allowances for.

"This unhappy and devoted province has been so long in a state of anarchy, and the yoke of ministerial oppression has been laid so heavily on it, that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances. The deficiency of num-

bers, discipline, and stores can only lead to this conclusion, that their spirit has exceeded their strength." Vol. iii. p. 24.

In November, there was so much impatience of longer detention that Washington found himself compelled to grant furloughs (vol. iii. p. 176) "to fifty at a time from each regiment;" and it is at this period, under the vexation arising from this cause, that Washington uses his severest language. No doubt, the state of things was perplexing, irritating, deplorable. It was enough to create all the displeasure that Washington felt. But, after all, what did the men want their furloughs for? Not to take themselves out of the enemy's way, nor out of the way of an unprovided winter in camp. Washington himself answers that question.

"One thousand five hundred at a time are to be absent on furlough, until all have gone home to visit and provide for their families." Vol. iii. p. 189.

A not unreasonable object to present itself, as winter came on, to husbands and fathers, who, in the last spring, had left their homes *impromptu*, — though very unpropitious to the discipline of the army, annoying to its general, and hazardous to the public safety. And presently after, Washington felt better. The last quotation is from a letter of December 5. The militia were called in to supply the places of the men absent on furlough, and December 11th, Washington wrote as follows: —

"The militia are coming in fast. I am much pleased with the alacrity which the good people of this province, as well as those of New Hampshire, have shown upon this occasion." Vol. iii. p. 195.

And again, just a week later: —

"The returns of men enlisted since my last amount to about eighteen hundred, making in the whole seven thousand one hundred and forty. The militia that are come in, both from this province and New Hampshire, are very fine-looking men, and go through their duty with great alacrity. The despatch made, both by the people in marching and by the legislative powers in complying with my requisition, has given me infinite satisfaction." Vol. iii. pp. 205, 206.

On the 7th of March, 1776, Washington informed the

President of Congress of that movement to take possession of Dorchester Heights, which drove the British army from Boston. He says, —

"It having been the general opinion, that the enemy would attempt to dislodge our people from the Heights, and force their works as soon as they were discovered, which probably might have brought on a general engagement, it was thought advisable that the honorable council* should be applied to, to order in the militia from the neighboring and adjacent towns. I wrote to them on the subject, which they most readily complied with; and, in justice to the militia, I cannot but inform you that they came in at the appointed time, and manifested the greatest alertness, and determined resolution to act like men engaged in the cause of freedom." Vol. iii. p. 304.

To Colonel Reed he wrote on the same day, —

"Every thing had the appearance of a successful issue, if we had come to an engagement on that day. It was the 5th of March, [the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, so called,] which I recalled to their remembrance as a day never to be forgotten. An engagement was fully expected, and I never saw spirits higher, or more ardor prevailing." Reed's *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. i. p. 169.

Once more, acknowledging, on the 18th of April, the vote of thanks by Congress to his troops, Washington said, —

"They were, indeed, at first 'a band of undisciplined husbandmen,' but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success," &c. *Writings*, Vol. iii. p. 361.

The hardships in camp required great exertions out of camp, and such exertions were made as do not indicate a penurious people. The usual sources of revenue were cut off, and Massachusetts was extremely poor; and as yet there was scarcely a new social organization, such as deserved to be called government. In December, the army was suffering for want of firewood and hay; and the way in which provision was made illustrates the imperfection of the fiscal machinery, as well as the public spirit which supplied its defects.

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* The Executive Council of Massachusetts.

"The Assembly of Massachusetts undertook to supply these articles, by calling on the towns, within twenty miles of Boston, to furnish at stated times specific quantities, according to the population of each town and its distance from camp. This requisition was generally complied with by the selectmen and committees of the towns, although it was issued only in the form of a recommendation, and the wants of the army were effectually relieved." Vol. iii. p. 190, note.

It is a bitter and a cruel thing for any man to look back from these calm and abundant days, and say that the people of Massachusetts have ever been a parsimonious people when public exigencies required great expense. We can give but one example of the action of its village democracies before we pass from the topic, and we take that of the town of Concord, because the record of its doings lies at hand, and because we can present it in the language of R. Waldo Emerson, in his Centennial Discourse fifteen years ago. Concord is fourteen or fifteen miles from Cambridge, where were then head-quarters. It was and is a very patriotic town, and we will not say that it did not do better than the average of other towns in the autumn of 1775. But here is what it did then, and through the war.

"Its little population of 1300 souls behaved like a party to the contest. The number of its troops constantly in service is very great. Its pecuniary burdens are out of all proportion to its capital. The economy so rigid, which marked its earlier history, has all vanished. It spends profusely, affectionately in the service. 'Since,' say the plaintive records, 'General Washington, at Cambridge, is not able to give but 24*s.* per cord for wood, for the army; it is voted, that this town encourage the inhabitants to supply the army, by paying two dollars per cord, over and above the General's price, to such as shall carry wood thither;' and 210 cords of wood were carried. A similar order is taken respecting hay. Whilst Boston was occupied by the British troops, Concord contributed to the relief of the inhabitants £70 in money; 225 bushels of grain; and a quantity of meat and wood. When, presently, the poor of Boston were quartered by the Provincial Congress on the neighboring country, Concord received 82 persons to its hospitality. In the year 1775, it raised 100 minute-men and 74 soldiers to serve at Cambridge. In March, 1776, 145 men were raised by this town to serve at Dorchester Heights. In June, the General Assembly of Massachusetts resolved to raise 5000 militia, for six months, to reinforce the Continental army.

'The numbers,' say they, 'are large, but this court has the fullest assurance, that their brethren on this occasion, will not confer with flesh and blood, but will, without hesitation, and with the utmost alacrity and despatch, fill up the numbers proportioned to the several towns.' On that occasion, Concord furnished 67 men, paying them itself, at an expense of £622. And so on, with every levy, to the end of the war. For these men, it was continually providing shoes, stockings, shirts, coats, blankets, and beef. The taxes, which, before the war, had not much exceeded £200 per annum, amounted, in the year 1782, to $9,544 in silver. The great expense of the war was borne with cheerfulness, whilst the war lasted; but years passed, after the peace, before the debt was paid. As soon as danger and injury ceased, the people were left at leisure to consider their poverty and their debts. The town records show how slowly the inhabitants recovered from the strain of excessive exertion.'—pp. 37, 38."

In Philip's war, the debt incurred by Plymouth exceeded the aggregate personal estate of all the inhabitants of the colony; and she paid it, dollar for dollar. In one year of the French war of 1758 – 1763, Massachusetts taxed herself thirty-six *per cent.* on the income from real, and sixty-six *per cent.* on the income from personal estate, besides several excises; and more than one third of the effective men of the colony were in the field. At the time of the Boston Port Bill, Salem, Marblehead, and other seaboard towns, which the ministry hoped to bribe, with the spoils of Boston, to opposition to her policy, offered to receive the Boston ships, and load and unload them without charge. In the war of the Revolution, 298,134 men (231,971 continental, 56,163 militia,) were at different times employed. Of these, the four New England States, including the little State of Rhode Island, furnished 147,373, only 1,694 less than half of the whole number; while the single State of Massachusetts furnished 83,262, or only 24,174 less than half the aggregate number furnished by all the other twelve States, nearly 8000 more than half the number furnished by the nine States out of New England, and between twice and three times as many as Virginia, the largest of those States, which sent 32,288 men to the war. At the same time, the excess of her payments into the common Treasury from 1775 to 1783, over and above what she drew from it, was greater than that of

the aggregate of her twelve sister States. No. Lord Mahon may depend upon it that he has fallen into an error, in taking Massachusetts for his example of halting or penurious public action. "Cromwellian," he is free to call her, without any denial from us; but the two descriptions do not agree together.

In speaking of what is called Conway's cabal, Lord Mahon says, (vi. 367,) that Conway "leagued himself with several other ambitious officers and scheming members of Congress; several, above all, from the New England States." No part of the country was more *Washingtonian* than New England was from first to last. She took the lead in Congress in selecting him to be commander-in-chief; and throughout his life, military and civil, none of the States was more devoted to his virtues, his policy, and his glory. Massachusetts stood stiffly by him through his Presidency, when his own Virginia was averse or cold. Still if New England had any particular connection with Conway's plot, by all means let it be known; and let justice be done, though the sky fall. Mr. Sparks, after a thorough examination of the subject, in a note, which Lord Mahon describes as "well deserving of perusal," concludes that there was nothing of the kind. Without producing a particle of evidence or of argument to refute him, Lord Mahon, who perhaps has looked into Botta, says that Mr. Sparks seeks "to glide gently over the participation of the New England members." We appeal to any candid reader of Mr. Sparks's note to say, whether he does any thing of the kind; whether, on the contrary, it is not a most upright and dispassionate investigation of a curious historical problem, as well as thorough, so far as the extant materials permit. Mr. Sparks concludes his note of thirty-six closely printed octavo pages as follows: —

"Some writers have laid the charge heavily upon the New England members; but this charge has been ably and conclusively refuted in Mr. Austin's *Life of Gerry*, where several interesting facts on the subject may be found. Others implicate the Southern members, but with no better evidence than conjecture. In truth it cannot be proved, nor is it probable, that any combinations unfavorable to the Commander-in-chief existed, either in the army or in Congress, which partook of local interests, or were sustained by the prejudices of any particular State or district of the Union." *Washington's Writings*, Vol. v. p. 518.

"The biography of Mr. Elbridge Gerry," replies Lord Mahon, "seems to me wholly inconclusive, *and to make (for an American book) one most singular blunder.*" What sleepiness is it, in which his Lordship dreams that the oversight of the author of Gerry's Life, in incidentally naming Philadelphia as the place of the session of Congress in November, 1777, when in fact Congress was sitting at York, is of any avail against the cogent argument there presented respecting Conway's cabal?* If Lord Mahon has any facts upon the subject, not known in this country, or not recorded by our writers, let him oblige and instruct us with them. But until he has done so, or has been at some pains to place the facts known to us in some new light, we will not say that his *ex cathedrâ* judgment on this point is impertinent, but we must say that it is not weighty.

Our readers have seen some proof that Lord Mahon is not eminently good at weighing authorities, or even sufficiently careful in his citations of them. It is painful to see how he sometimes disposes of such an authority as that of our learned countryman, Mr. Sparks, a writer to whom American history is much more indebted than to any other, for fruits of original research. He is not perhaps so sprightly a writer as Lord Mahon, but among qualifications for historical composition there are several which rank higher than liveliness of style. The habit of accuracy in investigation and in statement is one of them; and in this great merit, as well as in others, Mr. Sparks excels, to a degree which makes Lord Mahon's flippant allusions to him a subject of mortification to such as wish well to his Lordship's fame.

Of the Declaration of Independence, Lord Mahon says, (vi. 161,) that "it excited much less notice than might have been supposed." That measure had, however, been sufficiently long in progress not to take the public mind by surprise; it produced no change, like a French Revolution, in the form of government or the condition of the people; — the revolution had taken place before, in the several States; it scarcely raised anticipations, or intro-

* Austin's *Life of Gerry*, Vol. i. pp. 232–245.

duced a policy, not already existing in full maturity. Under these circumstances, it appears to us that no greater excitement was reasonably to have been looked for than what the newspapers of the day show to have been actually produced, which was certainly by no means small. But what irks us most in connection with this matter is, that as a qualifying circumstance, Lord Mahon takes occasion (vi. 161) to add, "Washington, however, in his public letter to Congress (unless Mr. Jared Sparks has *improved* this passage) says that the troops had testified 'their warmest approbation.'" * "Unless Mr. Jared Sparks has *improved* this passage"! Is it thus that self-respecting men, engaged in liberal pursuits, should speak of one another? Neither this passage, nor any other, has Mr. Sparks improved in the manner that Lord Mahon ventures to imply. There is an old collection of Washington's "official letters" during the war, published while he was President. The edition before us is the second, issued at Boston in 1796. Lord Mahon knows the book, for he has quoted from it, (vi. 378,) and therein, (vol. i. p. 176,) the passage stands, word for word, as printed by Mr. Sparks. Thirty seconds' time would have sufficed to inform his Lordship whether he had a right to suppose it to be an *improvement* by that gentleman, and would have saved him from the discontent he will feel in reflecting upon so rash a sneer.

After making an extract from one of Washington's letters, and referring to others relating to the detention of Burgoyne's troops by Congress, Lord Mahon says, —

"How far Mr. Sparks may have either garbled these passages or suppressed others, I know not. Mr. Adolphus says that Washington remonstrated with force and firmness against this national act of dishonor. (*Hist.* vol. iii. p. 99, edit. 1802.)"— Vol. vi. p. 299.

We suppose that Mr. Adolphus was mistaken. He may have had evidence not known to us; but, as at present advised, we presume that Washington, whatever may have been his private opinion, never "remonstrated" to Congress against their measures in relation to this subject. It would

* *Writings*, Vol. iii. p. 457.

have been contrary to his rule and practice. Will Lord Mahon get Mr. Adolphus's vouchers, and set us right as to that question? But his Lordship "knows not how far Mr. Sparks may have either garbled these passages, or suppressed others." He might easily have known, however, as to one of them. He had only to turn to his copy of that manual, to which we have just referred as an acquaintance of his, and he would have found that passage (vol. ii. p. 207,) in precisely the form in which it is printed by Mr. Sparks. The others, we presume, are from letters hitherto unpublished, except in Mr. Sparks's edition. Lord Mahon's not knowing whether they have been "garbled" would have been a more material fact, had he not declared himself to be equally unknowing in respect to the former, when knowledge concerning it was so cheaply to be had from a little book just laid by him upon his own shelves.

Having quoted from the "Official Letters" some sentences in which Washington condemns the policy of proscriptive measures by which loyalist merchants and mechanics would be driven from Philadelphia, Lord Mahon adds, (vi. 378,) "Mr. Sparks has deemed it expedient to omit the letter containing these passages." No doubt of it. Mr. Sparks not only "deemed it expedient," but found it unavoidable, to omit several thousands of letters. The same feeble sort of implied complaint often occurs in these pleasant volumes, as if it were something discreditable to Mr. Sparks that he did not print Washington's remains bodily, in forty or fifty volumes, instead of making such a selection from them as might be comprehended within eleven. If his Lordship will refresh his memory with the contents of his own preface to his edition of Lord Chesterfield's letters, he will own that reasons for such omissions do sometimes exist.

Besides occasional petulances of this kind scattered through his sixth volume, Lord Mahon devotes to the work of our learned countryman a whole article in his Appendix. After some commendations of Mr. Sparks's work as "of great historical interest and importance," and of his "notes and illustrations" as "written not only with much ability, but in a spirit, on most points, of candor and fairness," Lord Mahon proceeds: —

"I am bound, however, not to conceal the opinion I have formed, that Mr. Sparks has printed no part of the correspondence precisely as Washington wrote it, but has greatly altered, and, as he thinks, corrected and embellished it." Vol. vi. p. iv.

We have much allowance and charity for *obiter dicta.* But this is not one. Lord Mahon has formed an opinion. It is so clear, matured, and consequential, that he is "bound not to conceal" it. And it is this; "that Mr. Sparks has printed *no part* of the correspondence precisely as Washington wrote it." To arrive intelligently at that opinion, (relating as it does, by its terms, to every part,) one needs to have become acquainted, we will not say with the whole, but at least with a very large portion of that correspondence in the original, and to have observed constant deviations from it in the printed copy. This being so, what is Lord Mahon's opinion that Mr. Sparks has correctly printed "*no part* of the correspondence" good for? His Lordship will answer that this is not what he meant. So we suppose. But then we must be allowed to ask, What is the authority of so sweeping an opinion, when he who utters it with such judicial stateliness is not at pains to understand himself enough to be able to announce his meaning with more precision?

But justice to an admirable national monument of the nation's greatest man, and to an eminent and most meritorious American scholar, demands that we should look more closely at the question thus presented. Fourteen years ago, four years or more after the completion of Mr. Sparks's work, we spoke of it as follows, expressing, as we believed and believe, the well-determined sense of good judges in this country.

"To judge of the service which Mr. Sparks has rendered the country, we must compare the previous accounts of Washington's career with that which we now possess. All that is contained in Marshall is meagre and incomplete in comparison with the copious details and ample illustrations with which we are at present furnished. We have Washington to the life, from boyhood to the last hour; narrating his own career; explaining himself, the formation of his own character; and promulgating his views on every question of his day. And these letters are not left unexplained. The editor has gathered collateral aid from every

quarter; and sparingly, yet clearly and admirably, illustrated the whole work by researches of the deepest interest. As a critic, the mind of Mr. Sparks seems to know no bias. He pursues the truth, and is enamored of inquiry; and, where explanation is needed he does not rest satisfied, till he has exhausted every source of information.

"The great merit of Mr. Sparks, giving him the first rank among the critical students of our history, consists in his candor and his completeness. In the selection of documents he appears ever to have been guided by the highest reverence for historic truth. But more than all, he perceived clearly, that the history of our revolution, the life and character and influence of Washington, could not be derived from American sources alone; and with a wide grasp, which proves his mind to be enlarged not less than accurate, he has sought materials in England and on the continent of Europe. He saw clearly the momentous importance of the diplomatic connections of our country; and would not rest satisfied, till, at a vast expense of time and fortune, he had culled the most interesting memoirs from the archives of London and Paris, and, through friends, from the papers of the Spanish Court. And he has, in consequence, been able to accomplish a great work. He has published such an edition of Washington's works, as is never likely to be excelled; thus winning a claim to regard by his zealous care for the remains of our greatest benefactor, and permanently connecting himself with a name that will never perish.

"The admirable fund of historic information which Mr. Sparks has acquired, and holds in his own mind, ought not to rest unemployed. It would take an apprenticeship of many years for a new critic, — and a critic of equal natural endowments is a rare phenomenon, — to attain the position which Mr. Sparks occupies. His judgment is disciplined; his acquisitions, such as to save him from imperfect conceptions or undue estimates of the importance of new documents; familiar with the relative merits and activity of the men of the revolution, we cannot too strongly desire, that his mind may continue to be bent upon illustrating the history of his country." *N. A. Review*, Vol. xlvi. pp. 483, 484.

And again, —

"We dismiss his work with unqualified satisfaction. Its extent required a patience of labor, which few men could have brought to the task. To these have been added rigid literary as well as moral integrity, and that love of his theme which engaged him in supplementary and illustrative researches, in this country and Europe, of the most important and interesting character.

Mr. Sparks must not look for his reward to pecuniary compensation. Notwithstanding Mr. Moore's recent complimentary remarks on the splendid dowry which literature now brings to those who espouse her, we doubt not he has been as well paid for the lightest of his own graceful effusions by the Mæcenas of Albemarle Street as Mr. Sparks will be for his ten years of unrelaxing and conscientious labor. His reward has been already in part enjoyed; it must be found in the consciousness of laboriously and worthily performing a noble work; — in the conviction that he has contributed to give a wider diffusion, and a more abiding permanence, to the fame of Washington; and that, whenever the authority of the greatest and best of chieftains and patriots is appealed to in all coming time, it will be in some association with his own name and labors." *N. A. Review*, Vol. xlvii. p. 381.

And such, while widely circulated, and subjected to criticism far and near, has continued to be the reputation of this great work, unquestioned till within about a year. In 1847 was published "The Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," by his grandson. It contained several private letters from Washington to Reed, (for some time his private secretary,) some of them the same which had before been printed by Mr. Sparks. A comparison between those letters, as published in the two works respectively, exhibits some discrepancies. They were commented upon, last year, in a tone unfriendly to Mr. Sparks, in one or more of the New York newspapers; and catching at this from across the water, and echoing it with some exaggeration, Lord Mahon has given it form and permanency.

Mr. Sparks understood the difficulties of his undertaking beforehand, as well as those who criticize him understand them, after having been enlightened by his expositions and experience. In the Preface to the first volume published, (the second in the series,) he expressed himself as follows.

"It has been a task of some difficulty to determine what general principles should be adopted, in selecting the parts for publication from the whole body of papers left by Washington. In the first place, the mass of manuscript, which extends to eighty volumes, consisting chiefly of letters, is so large as to preclude the idea of publishing more than a comparatively small portion. Again, from the nature of the correspondence, being mostly offi-

cial, and many of the letters having been written to different persons on the same subject, there are necessarily frequent repetitions, and numerous particulars constantly intervening, which, though essential at the time in the transaction to which they relate, have no longer any interest or moment. Of this description are the innumerable details incident to the subordinate arrangements of an army, such as supplies, provisions, clothing, camp equipage, arms, ammunition, and other points of minor consideration, which engaged the incessant care of the Commander-in-chief, and entered largely into his correspondence even with Congress, and the highest officers, both civil and military. To print all the materials of this kind would not only be useless in itself, but would add so much to the size and expense of the work, as at the same time to make it cumbersome and unattractive to readers, and raise its cost above the means of many individuals, who may wish to possess these personal records and authentic memorials of the acts, opinions, and character of the Father of his Country.

"Under these circumstances, I have endeavored to pursue such a course as would the most effectually attain the object to be desired, in bringing these papers before the public; namely, to exhibit the writings of Washington in a manner that will render strict justice to the imperishable name of their author, and contribute the greatest advantage to his countrymen, both at the present time, and in future ages. For this purpose I have laid down two rules, which I have labored to follow with as much discrimination as possible; first, to select such parts as have a permanent value, on account of the historical facts which they contain, whether in relation to actual events, or to the political designs and operations in which Washington was a leading or conspicuous agent; secondly, to comprise such other parts as contain the views, opinions, counsels, and reflections of the writer on all kinds of topics, showing thereby the structure of his mind, its powers and resources, and the strong and varied points of his character. Upon this plan, it has been my study to go carefully through the manuscripts, without regard to what has heretofore been made public, and gather from the whole, and combine into one body, the portions most important for their intrinsic value and historical characteristics; so that the work in its complete form, may be a depository of all the writings of Washington which it is essential to preserve, either as illustrating his political and private life, or the history of his country during the long and brilliant period of his public career.

"According to this plan, when a letter throughout bears the features above described, it will be printed entire, as will, in

every case, the addresses, speeches, messages, circulars, and other state papers, issued by him from time to time. But many of the letters, both in the public and private correspondence, for the reasons already assigned, will necessarily be printed with omissions of unimportant passages, relating chiefly to topics or facts evanescent in their nature, and temporary in their design. Special care will be taken, nevertheless, in all such omissions, that the sense shall not be marred, nor the meaning of the writer in any manner perverted or obscured. Nor is this difficult, because the omitted passages usually treat upon separate and distinct subjects, and may be removed without injury to the remaining portions of the letter.

"It ought to be premised here, that, in preparing the manuscripts for the press, I have been obliged sometimes to use a latitude of discretion, rendered unavoidable by the mode in which the papers have been preserved. They are uniformly copied into volumes, and this task appears to have been performed, except in the Revolutionary correspondence, by incompetent or very careless transcribers. Gross blunders constantly occur, which not unfrequently destroy the sense, and which never could have existed in the original drafts. In these cases I have, of course, considered it a duty, appertaining to the functions of a faithful editor, to hazard such corrections as the construction of the sentence manifestly warranted, or a cool judgment dictated. On some occasions the writer himself, through haste or inadvertence, may have fallen into an awkward use of words, faults of grammar, or inaccuracies of style, and when such occur from this source, I have equally felt bound to correct them. It would be an act of unpardonable injustice to any author, after his death, to bring forth compositions, and particularly letters, written with no design to their publication, and commit them to the press without previously subjecting them to a careful revision. This exercise of an editor's duty, however, I have thought it allowable to extend only to verbal and grammatical mistakes or inaccuracies, maintaining a scrupulous caution that the author's meaning and purpose should thereby in no degree be changed or affected." *Washington's Writings*, Vol. ii. Introd. pp. xii.–xv.

If the correctness of these views taken by Mr. Sparks of his editorial duty, and submitted by him to the judgment of experts at his first publication of two volumes, was liable to any doubt, then, when objections were almost solicited, was the time for objections to be made. Had any error in his plan then been pointed out, the exposure of it would have influenced the remainder. But

no error was pointed out. Approbation was expressed,* and silence gave consent, and the plan was thought to be most judiciously conceived, and met universal concurrence.

Has there been a departure in the execution from the plan and principles announced? Lord Mahon, and the American journalists whom he has followed, say that there has been; that into Washington's letters Mr. Sparks has interpolated matter of his own. We shall see presently how that is.

Lord Mahon has "formed the opinion," and is "bound not to conceal" it, "that Mr. Sparks has printed no part of the correspondence precisely as Washington left it." The deviations must have been of one or more of three classes, namely, additions, omissions, or alterations.

Of *additions*, Lord Mahon and his American authorities have imagined that they detected one. A passage in a letter from Washington to Reed, of March 7, 1776, stands in Reed's "Life and Correspondence" as follows.

"The drift and design are obvious, but is it possible that any sensible — but enough." Vol. i. p. 170.

While Mr. Sparks presents it thus.

"The drift and design are obvious, but is it possible that any sensible nation upon earth can be imposed upon by such a cobweb scheme or gauze covering? But enough." *Washington's Writings*, Vol. iii. p. 310.

Upon this Lord Mahon makes himself boisterously merry. In his exhilaration, he ventures on what is rare in his writings, a jest of his own.

"I know not whether my readers will concur with me in liking Washington's own, and, though homespun, excellent cloth, much better than the 'cobweb schemes or gauze coverings,' which have, it seems, been manufactured in its place." Vol. vi. p. viii.

Droll, certainly! And the distinction does honor to his Lordship's critical acumen. How clear, (when pointed out,) and how ludicrous the contrast between the genuine grave rhetoric of Washington and the flimsy supposititious texture of Sparks.

"Demens! qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
"Ære, et cornipedum pulsu simulârat equorum!"

* For our own judgment at the time, see *N. A. Review*, Vol. xxxix. pp. 468–471.

The flout and the fun have only one flaw. The fault is in the finder. The language, so ridiculously unlike Washington's, and so presumptuously invented by Mr. Sparks for him, is Washington's own. It was not added in Mr. Sparks's edition, but, by some accident, it was omitted in Mr. Reed's. In both editions it was printed from the same original letter. By Mr. Sparks it was printed correctly; by the editor of Reed's "Life and Correspondence," not so. Lord Mahon, we have no doubt, will easily get from that gentleman a confirmation of this statement of ours, if he chooses to take the trouble; and he will then suspect himself to be not an infallible judge of the warp and woof of Washington's homespun, or a sufficiently cautious censor of a fellow-freeman of the republic of letters.

As to the charge of *additions*, it is clear that Lord Mahon will have to try again. So far, Mr. Sparks's assertion in his recent pamphlet stands unimpeached, that "*not a single line, or fragment of a line, was intentionally added* to the original text, throughout the whole twelve volumes of the work."*

Of *omissions* there may be different kinds: as of whole letters; of portions of a letter, treating topics distinct from the rest; of single words or phrases.

To complain of the omission of letters, and those in great numbers, is to complain that Mr. Sparks did not propose a work consisting of forty or fifty volumes instead of twelve; or that he could not command the treasury of the nation to defray the cost, instead of having to look to the patronage of the trade and of readers. What the reading public wanted, and was ready to pay for, was a selection. If the number of volumes was not judiciously determined, if the selection would have been materially better suited to its purpose by being more voluminous, let that be shown; it will be fair matter for censure. French readers wanted only six volumes; and for their use Guizot reduced Mr. Sparks's work to that number. The Germans craved but two; and with two, accordingly, they were accommodated by Von Raumer. The question whether, all things considered, the American

* *Reply to the Strictures*, &c. p. 8.

public would have been better suited with more than eleven, we think Mr. Sparks, *primâ facie*, better qualified to decide than Lord Mahon. Still we are open to conviction, and are ready to give our best attention to his argument whenever he is ready to make it.

The collection, however, may be comprehensive enough, but not judiciously made. In other words, some letters which are omitted may have had a better right to be embraced in it than some which have a place. That is a very intelligible case, and not improbable in point of fact. We do not remember that, in any instance, Lord Mahon or the critics whom he has followed have adopted this line of argument, and undertaken to show that the collection would have been, on the whole, improved by the rejection of this letter and the substitution of that. Yet it would in no degree surprise us if, in some instance, this should be shown. We should be much more surprised if the editor's judgment, applied to so many different comparisons, should in every case prove to be unquestionable.

To argue that the collection ought to have been enlarged, or that some letter should have been omitted from it in order to find place for some other, is to argue to the purpose. But it is not to the purpose to say, simply, "Mr. Sparks has seen fit to omit this letter," as if to exclude any letter was a thing unfit; when three letters out of four, or seven out of eight, or two out of three, or some proportion or other, were necessarily to be omitted.

In respect to the omission of portions of a letter, treating some topic distinct from the rest, we have not a word to add to the perfectly clear, and, to our minds, perfectly satisfactory exposition of Mr. Sparks himself.

"The propriety of omitting parts of letters, and retaining other parts, may, perhaps, at first view, be thought questionable. But when it is considered that parts of letters, treating upon totally distinct and unconnected topics, are in reality the same as so many distinct letters, it is obvious that to omit such parts differs in no respect from omitting separate letters. Moreover, if entire letters had in every instance been printed, it would have been necessary to leave out of the work much that was valuable and important, which is now included, and fre-

quently to repeat the same matter, and sometimes in the same language.

"In the correspondence during the Revolution, it often happened that several letters were written nearly at the same time to different persons; the President of Congress, the governors of States, officers of the army, or other official characters, in which not only the same facts were communicated, and the same topics discussed, but whole paragraphs were almost literally transcribed from one letter into others. These repetitions grew out of the nature of the business in hand, and could not have been avoided without unnecessary circumlocutions and strained attempts to seek a variety of language for expressing the same ideas. As to letters of this description, it was the practice to print some one of them entire, and to select from the others such parts as were free from repetitions. But in all omissions, whether for these reasons or others, whether short or long, special care was taken not to break off in the midst of a topic or train of thought, and not, by any abrupt transition, to weaken or obscure the sense of the author." *Reply*, pp. 20, 21.

The remaining case, of *omissions of words and phrases*, stands on substantially the same principles as that of *alterations;* so that, in what we have to say of them, it will be most convenient to treat the two classes together.

What are the privileges, and what the obligations of an editor of posthumous letters, in respect to such omissions and alterations? The question is not without its difficulties; there is something to be said on both sides. In discussing it, we desire distinctly to apprise the reader beforehand, that we shall take some positions which do not at all belong to the defence of Mr. Sparks; *which he has not assumed*, or had occasion to assume; and which we cannot say that, in any editorial exigency, he would approve.*

* Gray, by his will, left his papers to his friend Mason, who published a selection from them, prepared according to his notions of editorial duty. But when "he that is first in his own cause seemeth just," sometimes "his neighbor cometh and searcheth him." By and by Mitford, the editor of Milton, published a larger selection, with a preface, animadverting severely on the method of his predecessor, in omitting, transposing, and altering. But what does the censor say of his own course? This: (Vol. i. Advertisement,) "The editor has only further to observe, that he has formed the following selection according to the best of his judgment; he has made a few omissions when the subject turned on mere matters of business, or private and domestic circumstances; and he has taken the liberty of altering a very few words, which occurred in the freedom of the most familiar correspondence; but it must be

The great public has a prurient curiosity to see a great man in dishabille. If, being a good thinker, he has sometimes used bad reasonings, — if, being or not being a good scholar, he has made some lapses in spelling, grammar, rhetoric, or recollection of facts, there is a sort of satisfaction to readers in having them exposed, and in having opportunity afforded to exercise their own critical gifts, and to feel, so far, their own superiority. If hasty opinions, alien from the usual habits of thought, have somehow been put on record; if some petulant expression has been used, out of harmony with the characteristic style of comment and intercourse; if something which the man kept to himself, during his life, can be got at, now that he is no longer here to protect it, there is many a reader who especially rejoices in such spoil.

How far is that taste to be accommodated, by one who has an editor's responsibility for a great renown? If a man may reasonably dislike the thought of having his dead body exposed to a mob of students on a dissecting table, has he no privileges whatever of exemption from a vulgar exposure of his mind? If he may be allowed to have his corporeal carbon and nitrogen quietly inurned, according to his own notions of decency and taste, is his unclad mind to be at the mercy of any rude survivor, who may be inclined to gibbet it by the highway for the inspection of the passers-by?

We cannot but think that some consideration is due to the known judgment and feelings of him whom we compel to make a posthumous appearance upon the stage. It is no small liberty that we take with a man, when, after he has gone beyond the reach of being consulted,

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added that this has not taken place above three or four times in the whole collection of letters, and only in those cases where the original expression could not with propriety have been retained." In other words, the fierce purist found it impossible to reck his own rede. The rules which he was so shocked at another's departure from, turned out to be too rigorous for his own application; and, after all, he was fain himself to "tamper with the truth of history." We shall not undertake to defend Mason's freedoms, which were utterly unlike the judicious fidelity of Mr. Sparks. But in high quarters there has been a favorable opinion of his labors. It was after Mitford's publication that the *Quarterly Review*, (Vol. xv. p. 377,) pronounced Mason's to have "put to shame every subsequent attempt of the same nature."

or the power of crushing us for our impudence, we take all of him that was most his own (including all that he would most have cared to keep so,) and share it with the world.

The freedom ought not to be extended a great way further than is necessary for the public good. And if ever there was a man, as to whom more than to all others, such terms ought to be kept, that man perhaps was Washington. Perfect, punctilious, rigid propriety and dignity of public appearance was perhaps more considered by him than by any other great man in history. Cicero would not have wished to appear to posterity in his letters, otherwise than as he does appear. Pliny and Walpole, in their correspondence, dressed themselves up for posthumous enthronement, like Peruvian Incas. In the letters of Dryden and Swift there is a vast deal, and in those of Pope not a little, which dying they ought to have wished to blot; but they did not wish to blot it, and therefore it is doing them the less wrong to let it stand. Cromwell's letters defy the rhetorician's art to bring them into any shape; but they are true and precious illustrations of the man, nor is there the slightest ground for supposing that he would have been disinclined to have them used, just as they are, for that purpose. The careless expressions, which very rarely occur in Washington's letters, are not illustrations of the man. They are illustrations of nothing but of what the man carefully and strenuously intended not to be or do, and of what he uniformly in fact avoided when he voluntarily stepped into the public view. An editor of the writings of Adams, Jefferson, or Madison, would occupy, we think, a different position in this respect, from an editor of those of the first President. Secure in the consciousness of scholarly culture, John Adams would not have cared a groat had he known that rhetorical or even grammatical errors of his were going to be reprinted to the end of time. With Washington it was different. Not only had gravity and precision a singular prominence in his estimation of character, not only did dignity make in a peculiar manner his point of honor, but, like most eminent men who are not, strictly speaking, scholars, he had a sensitive tenderness on the point of apparent deficiency in that respect. So correct were his habits of thought, so complete his

method, and so clear his perceptions of the meaning of words, that few men of his time on the whole wrote better, when he had time to compose with care. He always did compose with care, when he was composing for the public. So solicitous was he on this head, that, on important occasions, he availed himself largely of the criticisms of others. When writing not for the public, nor with time for correction, still the qualities of his mind stamped themselves on his language, and it was generally all that could be desired. Sometimes, no doubt, it could not fail to be otherwise; and then, if ever, there was a sleeping worthy, whom a posthumous exposure of infelicities of the kind would have made revisit in complete steel the glimpses of the moon, that terrible avenging shade would have been Washington's. And its aspect would have been more awful than was that of its substance, — though that was awful enough, — when Gouverneur Morris, feigning to have mistaken him, slapped him on the shoulder.

But we repeat, that in throwing out some general views upon this subject, which strike us as not unworthy of consideration, we have gone much further than was at all necessary for the defence of Mr. Sparks's work, and much beyond any principles of editorship which he has announced or applied. Washington's understanding was so accurate, and most of what he wrote was so carefully considered, that there was very little left by him requiring different treatment from what any judicious editor of posthumous letters left for publication by a thoroughly trained writer, would think proper to apply. Those who think Mr. Sparks has used too much freedom, of course know how the thing could have been better done. How then would they have gone to work themselves? Washington, like some great men of letters, as Pope, and like many great commanders, as Napoleon and Frederick, — did not always spell correctly, either according to the fashion of our day, or even according to that of his own. Would it have thrown any useful light on Washington's character or career, or would it have been in any way entertaining or profitable to the reader, to have the press follow such inadvertencies, not always uniform, either, with each other? In a letter printed by Mr. Sparks, (vol. iii. p. 35,) Washington speaks of "Captain Derby," com-

mander of the Essex frigate. We knew the fine old gentleman well, and he always spelt his name with those letters. But at the time when Washington wrote of him, it was pronounced Darby, and we observe that it is so printed in the copy of the same letter in the "American Archives," (vol. ii. p. 1707,) which we dare say is a correct representation of Washington's original, since his orthography would be likely in this case to be guided by his ear. But would any thing have been gained to historical truth, if Mr. Sparks, by letting "Captain Darby" stand, had veiled that gallant officer's identity from the view of posterity? If an editor is bound to preserve an author's orthography, every new edition of Paradise Lost is a new violation of the truth of history on a large scale. We will take it for granted that the objector, since he does not mean to be consummately absurd, will yield us this point; though in doing so he abandons his own chosen ground; for that Washington wrote a word with a certain combination of letters, is for these minute philosophers an historical fact, and when Mr. Sparks, professing to represent him, uses another combination of letters, he "tampers with the truth of history," if their doctrine is good.

A step further brings us to cases of grammar. Suppose Washington, or one of his copyists, has written in his letter-book, "Greene and Putnam *has* gone up the river." Is it of any use to anybody, to have that peccant singular form of the verb perpetuated? Does the page look better? Is the reader better instructed? Is Washington better understood? Is the fidelity of history usefully subserved? We wish one who thinks so, would try the making of a book on that principle. We fancy that booksellers and purchasers, or rather no purchasers, would before long impress him with another view of the subject. Grammatical errors occur very rarely in any thing written by Washington's own hand. Would it have been of any sort of benefit to vary his general correctness in this respect with a *hortus siccus* of specimens of his occasional oversight?

"The truth of history," according to Lord Mahon's sharp conception of it, is pretty effectually disposed of already. But if violations of it may go thus far, may they

proceed another step? May they be pushed an inch into the department of rhetoric? If Washington at Monmouth swore some Virginia oaths when he met Lee retreating, (which we do not know that he did,) does historical integrity require their preservation? Lord Castlereagh was a great man, besides being an English University man; but he is reported to have spoken, in his place in parliament, of "the fundamental features on which the question hinges," and of "the honorable gentleman on the other side, who, crocodile-like, put his hands into his breeches pockets and wept." Does Lord Mahon think that an editor of Lord Castlereagh's speeches is bound to embalm those less select expressions, on pain of being charged with tampering with the truth of history? Washington never sinned so far against Quinctilian's rules about mixed metaphors, or any metaphors. But does historical integrity require the preservation of an expression in a familiar and confidential letter, so alien from Washington's usual style as "a hundred thousand dollars will be but a flea-bite"? Letters are sometimes as extemporaneous as speeches.

The legitimate discretion of an editor is to be used, we conceive, in respect to these three classes of peccadilloes with a freedom, as to each, in the reverse order of that in which we have named them. In respect to the last class, it appears to us that Mr. Sparks has been, as he ought to have been, exceedingly cautious. In fact, in the great mass of letters, as we have already said, there was not, in any view, occasion or opportunity for changes. There was no temptation to make them. In what Washington wrote for the public, or in what he wrote with care, as he wrote almost every thing, all was in as good order as any pedant or pedagogue could wish it. The instances which Lord Mahon parades in his Appendix are all from eight letters (out of more than twenty-five hundred contained in the work) addressed by Washington to Joseph Reed, in the last two months of 1775 and the first three of 1776. Written with a carelessness altogether unusual with him, they were evidently of the most confidential description. It is pretty clear that he regarded the correspondence in that light. He kept no copies of his own letters, and, as the editor of Reed's

"Life and Correspondence" informs us (vol. i. p. 163, note,) none of Reed's letters previous to March 1776 are preserved; the inference from which must be, either that they were destroyed by Washington, or else returned to their writer, and by him destroyed.* Our only doubt is whether, under these circumstances, Mr. Sparks should have given them any place in his collection, though they contain so much interesting matter that the inducement was strong, and the mere reader cannot but be thankful for the decision to which he came. Respecting them, the editor of Reed's "Life and Correspondence" says:—

"In a letter from Professor Sparks to the author, dated 21st February, 1838, he says, 'The letters from Washington to your grandfather, in '75 and '76, which you were so kind as to send me, and a selection from which I printed, seemed to me the most imperfect I had ever seen from his pen. They were evidently written in great haste, in perfect confidence, and without any thought that they would ever be published. I used more caution in selecting from these letters than from any others.' These letters are now for the first time printed entire." *Life and Correspondence,* Vol. i. p. 125.

If they were to be printed at all, they appear to have required some such caution as Mr. Sparks has used. The reader does not seem to lose much that is worth deploring in the omission of the epithets "rascally" and "dirty," nor in the metaphors of the "flea-bite," and the "lame hand." One diversity of expression however, does convey a diversity of sense. The passage which Mr. Sparks has printed, "If this has given rise to the jealousy, I can only say that I am sorry for it," reads in the Philadelphia copy of the letter of December 15th, 1775, "If this has given rise to the jealousy, I cannot say that I am sorry for it." On this we wait for further light. There has been carelessness somewhere. But we shall not confidently lay the blame on the editor of Washington's Writings, as Lord Mahon has done, till we know what is

* Washington's scrupulosity in this matter is especially illustrated by the fact of the destruction of his letters to his wife. Only one survives; that printed by Mr. Sparks in *Washington's Writings,* Vol. iii. p. 2.

the true reading of the original, to which we have not access. One alleged addition of Mr. Sparks to one of these letters, which was in fact the *gravamen* of the charge against him, has turned out to be, on the contrary, a true copy by him, and an omission by the Philadelphia editor. What happened once, may have happened twice, though we by no means intend to assume it. We only suspend our judgment on the present case, and await more proof. The omission in the printed Philadelphia copy which occasioned an arraignment of Mr. Sparks on the charge of adding, was an accident, — no more. The different reading of Mr. Sparks in the letter of December 15th, was an accident, too, if it turns out to be his error, and an accident of less importance.

Washington's table at Cambridge in 1775 and 1776 was not surrounded by gray-beards. He, the oldest of the group, was forty-three years old. Harrison and Mifflin had not reached half the age of man. Palfrey was thirty-four, and no Heraclitus at that; Moylan and Baylor were at an age for nonsense. With all the gravity which the general communicated to the intercourse of his board, it is not likely that it uniformly witnessed all and more than all the solemnity of fourscore. And if the commander of the right wing was some times there irreverently called "Old Put," the designation might undeliberately, and withal blamelessly, slip into Washington's private correspondence with Reed, who had just left him, though it is about as impossible as any thing else that can be imagined, that the writer, being what he was, should have been willing to serve it up to the public eye. Further; Reed calls General Putnam *Old Put* in his letter to Washington of March 15th,* and in Washington's letter to Reed of April 1st "Old Put" is guarded within quotation marks. Do they indicate a reference in the latter letter to the nick-name given in the former? If so, the force of the expression would lose its point and fitness when Washington's letter is printed apart from Reed's.†

* Reed's *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. i. p. 172.

† Lord Mahon thinks it worthy of mention (vol. vi. p. 57, note,) that in Mr. Peabody's *Life of Putnam* it is not recorded — as it is by Gordon — that that officer had kept a tavern. If his Lordship thinks himself defrauded of any thing by that omission, we will indemnify him by the information that

But we do not intend to vouch for the infallibility of each and every of Mr. Sparks's decisions of this nature. Perhaps he would not be disposed to stand by every one of them himself. Single little matters must be summarily disposed of. *De minimis non curatur*, is a general rule, and though Mr. Sparks's diligence forms an eminent exception to it, it was impossible for an editor of thousands of octavo pages, an investigator of tens of thousands of pages of manuscript, to pause till he had obtained absolute conviction on the respective claims of "General Putnam," and "Old Put." Still we should fail in candor did we not own that, had we been in Mr. Sparks's place, we should have been strongly tempted, at least, to win Lord Mahon's approval by holding on, as with hooks of steel, to "Old Put" and the "flea-bite." We should have been sensible to a natural — it could scarcely be called a malicious pleasure, — in showing that Washington, statuesque as he almost always was, and as he always meant to be, had after all in his grand heart a secret chord of sympathy with human levities. Mr. Sparks's austerer judgment, more penetrated with the spirit of his master, determined otherwise, and though we can scarcely approve, we shall not undertake magisterially to blame.

Lord Mahon rebukes Mr. Sparks (vol. vi. p. 122,) for the omission of the following sentence from a letter of Washington to Reed, of February 10th, 1776.

"Notwithstanding all the public virtue which is ascribed to these people, there is no nation under the sun, that I ever came across, *which pays* greater adoration to money than they do."

Where does his Lordship get that sentence, which Mr. Sparks ought to have inserted as Washington's? The censor does not stand *rectus in curiâ*. It is not for him to be loud-tongued against changes and omissions, when he corrects them after this fashion. He professes to copy

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Greene, his supposed sot, began life as an anchor-smith; that Knox, the chief artillery officer, served his apprenticeship with a book-binder; and that Stark, Prescott, Heath, and others, were farmers who held the plough. If men so trained could dispose of British and German regiments as they did, possibly their more elaborate initiation into the science of arms might have more speedily cleared their country of its invaders.

the omitted sentence from Reed's "Life and Correspondence." We turn to the letter in that work (vol. i. p. 157,) and we find the word "pay" where Lord Mahon has written "which pays."

Again, on the same page, Lord Mahon quotes the following as from Washington's letter to Reed of November 28th, 1775.

"Such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another in this great change of military *management*, I never saw before, and pray God I may never be witness to again."

In the last clause, for "and pray God," Mr. Sparks (vol. iii. p. 178) has "and pray God's mercy." Till further informed, we shall think it probable that this is an accidental omission in the Philadelphia edition, such as we pointed out in a former case,* rather than an addition by Mr. Sparks, to which there was no apparent temptation. As far as to the last clause, Mr. Sparks and the editor of Reed's "Life and Correspondence" (vol. i. p. 130,) print the sentence precisely alike; and they both have the word "arrangement," where Lord Mahon has "management." We are bound to suppose that their united testimony is to be received, as Lord Mahon has no knowledge on the subject from inspection of the original.

In these cases, to use his own language, applied to Mr. Sparks, his Lordship has "altered, and, as he thinks, corrected and embellished." He should not have ventured on such liberties, in the same paragraph in which he reproves them. Will he say they are errors of a copyist or of the press? Very well. The accident may reveal to him an element of fair criticism of the works of others. And certainly Mr. Sparks never, through any oversight, or error of copyist or compositor, has printed an alteration, of a kind to do injustice to character, like that of Lord Mahon in his erroneous quotation from La Fayette in relation to General Greene.

Though our remarks have been drawn out far beyond what we expected, we have by no means exhausted the subject, nor shall we pretend to do so. There remain,

* See above, p. 194.

however, two or three points which we ought not to pass wholly without notice, and we shall best present them in Mr. Sparks's own words.

"In regard to the text, also, it is proper here to repeat what has been said in another place, that frequent embarrassments have occurred. It was Washington's custom, in all his letters of importance, first to write drafts, which he transcribed. In making the transcripts he sometimes deviated from the drafts, omitting, inserting, and altering parts of sentences; nor did he always correct the drafts, so as to make them accord with the letters as sent to his correspondents. These imperfect drafts were laid aside, and from time to time copied by an amanuensis into the letter-books. [The amanuenses were sometimes the rude and ignorant overseers of his plantations.] Hence the drafts, as now recorded, do not in all cases agree precisely with the originals that were sent away. My researches have brought under my inspection many of these original letters. Regarding them as containing the genuine text, I have preferred it to that in the letter-books, and it has accordingly been adopted wherever it could be done.

"But the discrepancies are of little moment, relating to the style, and not to the substance. For the most part, I have been obliged to rely on the letter-books; and, for the reasons here mentioned, it is probable that the printed text may not in every particular be the same as in the originals, that is, the corrected copies, which were sent to his correspondents." *Reply*, pp. 23, 24.

In Reed's "Life and Correspondence," (vol. ii. p. 41,) is published a letter of Washington, dated December 12th, 1778, also contained in the "Writings of Washington," (vol. vi. p. 130.) In the latter copy as compared with the former, there appear some variations; as "I am at a loss to discover," for "is beyond the reach of my conception;" "*our* posts," for "*the* posts;" "be so much out," for "miss it so much;" and seven or eight others of the same importance, or rather unimportance. But their importance or unimportance is not now our point. On a reëxamination it appears, that Mr. Sparks's copy is an exact transcript from Washington's letter from which he printed, except in two particulars; and these are "logged houses," in the letter-book, for "log houses;" and "lest disaster might happen," for "lest *a* disaster might happen;" — which amounts to this, that the letter sent to Reed had some verbal variations from the copy kept by Washington, which was Mr. Sparks's only guide. Again, in Marshall's

"Life of Washington," (vol. v. p. 15,) is a letter of October 10th, 1784, to Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, also printed in "Washington's Writings," (vol. ix. p. 58,) in which a comparison of the two copies discloses a few various readings of no more consequence; as "stumbling-blocks," for "impediments;" and "connections in a commercial way," for "commercial connections." On recurrence to the letter-book at Washington, it proves to be truly represented, word for word, by Mr. Sparks's copy. Having stated these facts, and another set of them, of the same description, occurring in a letter to Richard Henry Lee, of December 14th, 1784, Mr. Sparks proceeds as follows:

"These specimens will serve to show the state of the text in a large portion of Washington's letters, as they now exist in manuscript, particularly those written at Mount Vernon, and others of a private nature written elsewhere. The originals sent to his correspondents seldom agree throughout in phraseology with the copies retained on record. Moreover, these copies are constantly marred by the blunders or mistakes of illiterate or careless transcribers. For the most part there was no resource for the editor but to follow the letter-books." *Reply*, p. 30.

"Another example, still more striking, may be mentioned. Washington kept a copy of his official correspondence during his military services in the last French war before the Revolution, written on sheets loosely stitched together. Some twenty or thirty years afterwards, he revised this manuscript, making numerous erasures, interlineations, and corrections in almost every letter. This corrected copy was then transcribed into bound volumes under his own direction. Which is now the genuine text? Which would Washington himself have printed?

"The one in the letter-books was adopted, because it seemed obvious, that, after the pains he had taken to prepare it, he intended that copy for permanent preservation and use. It would be easy to cavil here, and say that we have not the precise language employed by Washington to convey his thoughts at the time the letters were written, but a garbled substitute introduced at a much later day. Yet this was an act of his own, and certainly no editor would be justified in disregarding it. In these letters, therefore, the same kind of discrepancies will necessarily appear, as in the cases alluded to above, between the printed text and that of the originals sent out to his correspondents." *Ibid.* pp. 30, 31.

The amended form in which Washington had his letters copied into books, was not that which they bore when

transmitted to the persons addressed. Mr Sparks printed them from the manuscript books. Has some one "tampered with the truth of history" to bring them into the shape which they bear on the printed page? If so, who was it?

But we have detained our readers long enough with comments of detail, which were not, however, to be avoided, if we undertook to treat this important work. With great respect for Lord Mahon's character and labors, but with greater respect for the truth of history and for the principles of a generous criticism, we have felt bound to present some of his errors to his notice. Some of them are material. Others are of small account; but they throw light on that credulity and haste which have betrayed him into those of the graver sort. So far as we have exposed any, to his own conviction, we rely upon his upright nature to correct them for those future editions in which we believe his history is destined to live and "gather all its fame."

Art. V. — *König Ælfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte England's. Von* Dr. Reinhold Pauli. Berlin, 1851. 8vo. pp. 330. [*King Ælfred and his Position in English History.* By Dr. Reinhold Pauli.]

This new biography of Ælfred has been thrown up by that tidal wave of historic criticism which began with the great Niebuhr. After rolling over the track of the two most civilized nations of the Old World, it is now following the predatory Danes up the Humber and the Thames. It carries with it a power of fertilization as wonderful as that of the Nile. Under its influence, old legends spring up into new life, and, like the seeds that have been preserved for centuries in Egyptian tombs, they yield to the power of critical analysis and combination, and put forth their hidden germs of truth.

The traditions and customs of Anglo-Saxon life have not received the notice which their importance merits. The writers who have lately ventured to penetrate beyond the tenth century of the Christian era have found an

almost virgin soil to deal with. They have been preceded only by a few inaccurate explorers. The classical Milton shrank from the contact with barbarism, and dismissed the Heptarchy with the intimation that it would be as well worth his while to chronicle "the wars of kites and crows." Hume, who wrote only for fame, and had gained it to his satisfaction in his history of the Stuarts, does but glance superficially at this earlier period, and that for the sake of giving his work an appearance of completeness.

Within the last half century, however, a great change has taken place in public sentiment, and the important influence which the Anglo-Saxon race has exercised upon the destinies of England and of all mankind is now better appreciated. Their history shows them to have been enlightened and free; and it exhibits, in full vigor among them, almost all those institutions which have made England what she is. The early Britons had inherited the forms of Roman civilization; but, true to their Celtic nature, they proved themselves unable to retain them, and sank under Saxon dominion into moral and political insignificance. Under the Northmen, whether from Denmark or from their colony in France, the Saxons never lost their characteristics. What they had developed they retained, and they gave to their conquerors more than they received from them. They became, it is true, a subject race; the power passed into the hands of strangers, and the language of the court was one foreign to them; but the national life was not affected by these superficial changes. The popular element remained as before, Anglo-Saxon, and began gradually to absorb all other elements into itself. It rose for a moment to the surface of the brave old times of the Commonwealth, and the result was a period of unprecedented national grandeur. It has, in these latter days, again become predominant, and made the government of England energetic, powerful, and respected. The history of this race has, therefore, at this period, peculiar claims upon the attention of English scholars, and it is natural that it should now, for the first time, be written with success. The influence of liberal principles has prepared historians to understand and acknowledge the important part which

the Saxons have played in the development of constitutional government.

Even this part of history, however, has fallen under the pens of the more patient and laborious branch of the great Teutonic family. It may be mentioned as an indication of what we have still to expect, that Niebuhr himself once thought it a worthy subject for his philosophical analysis, and that Professor Ranke had actually undertaken the labor when his attention was diverted in another direction. The duty was next assumed by Dr. Lappenberg, keeper of the Archives of the city of Hamburg, whose learned and well-written "History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," was published in 1833, and translated by B. Thorpe, Esq., a distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholar, in 1845. It was this author's intention to continue his work, but the failure of his eyesight compelled him to relinquish his project. The mantle has now fallen upon Dr. Reinhold Pauli, who, with a deep enthusiasm for his subject, purposes to write for the Germans, and in a German spirit, a thorough history of England. The first fruit of his labors is now before us; and we are convinced that the depth of its research, the fidelity of its spirit, and the accuracy of its critical analysis will secure to him the field he has chosen and a circle of attentive listeners.

Dr. Pauli is a young man, at present attached to the Prussian embassy at London. He was a favorite pupil of Ranke at Bonn, and may have acted upon his suggestion in the choice of his field of labor. He tells us in the preface, that the plan of this book was formed at Oxford, in 1848, during those terrible November days, when Prussia was passing through the first convulsions of her reaction; that he succeeded in dispelling his anxiety to some extent, by daily visits to the Bodleian Library, and by researches among its valuable manuscripts; and that the changeful history of Ælfred, the West-Saxon, soon drew his attention from his own cares, and awoke his earnest admiration. His enthusiasm for his hero has evidently made the task a *Lieblings-arbeit*, and partly for this reason, it is a successful one. Often as the field has been gleaned before, he has drawn from his sources new truth enough to give his book a claim to the attention of Ame-

rican readers. It is the best life of Ælfred that has yet been written. It rests on a basis of careful research, and proposes to give definiteness to the mythical events which overshadow the reign of the greatest of Saxon monarchs.

King Ælfred has held a position in the affections of the English race hardly equalled by any legendary hero of any nation. Long after the Saxons had fallen under the Norman yoke, they looked back with regret to the times of Ælfred, in whose partly fabulous character they found the type of true Saxon greatness. His storied traits and labors are almost superhuman. Laws and customs which are as old as Saxon memory, and which exist now in the Old World and the New, have been wrongly attributed to the genius of the great king. Miraculous stories have been told of him, in that mingled spirit of Paganism and Christianity which pervaded the twilight of the Middle Age. In a little more than a century after his death, he was celebrated in songs with the mythical glory of a Hercules as the shepherd and darling of his people.

> Engelene herd
> Engelene darling,
> In Enkelonde he was king,
> He was king and cleric,
> Full well he louede Godes werc:
> He was wis on his word
> And war on his werke:
> He was the wiseste mon
> Thad was in Engelonde on.

Even the two authentic sources of his biography are not destitute of uncertainty. The contemporaneous life of Asser has been mutilated and disguised, while the dry, bare facts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are sometimes interwoven with statements that are evidently unhistoric. Nowhere has the poetic fancy found an object on which it loved better to linger. Even the plain facts of Ælfred's career are made to border on the heroic and wonderful.

Underneath the covering of fable, however, there lies a character complete on every side, and tested by the most remarkable vicissitudes. It required only a larger sphere, and an Eginhard for a biographer, to give his name a brilliancy greater than that of Charlemagne or Peter the

Great. He was unsurpassed in war, but he never abused victory, and treated the conquered with a leniency which seemed to invite new hostilities. He was not depressed by calamity, nor exalted by success. Deeply religious by nature, he was the patron and defender of the Church in an age when the kings of his race were ready to avail themselves of any excuse to plunder churches and monasteries. In spite of every opposing influence, and the delusion of literary taste, he became the most learned Saxon in his kingdom and the most voluminous author. Charlemagne resembled him in the zeal with which he sought to cultivate his mind; but the Frank monarch never numbered writing among his accomplishments. The hand that wielded the sword so well never mastered the pen, save for the most necessary purposes of life. The Saxon hero saved his country by the power of arms; and he was the father of Saxon prose. He established a system of education which saved the next generation from the ignorance of their fathers. In an age of confusion, he arranged a code of laws, and founded a tribunal of justice which shielded the poor from a mercenary nobility, and made the highways so secure that bracelets might be hung at the crossroads, and found there again after a month's time. He made the first effort at a defence of England by sea, at a time when her insular situation was a curse instead of a protection. His manliness adorned private life by its virtues, and the Christian religion by an exemplary walk.

Such was Ælfred, if there is truth in history. None but a man of inexhaustible resources could have met the destiny to which he was summoned. His grandfather, Ecgberht, who had learned centralization by a residence of thirteen years at the Court of Charlemagne, had successively subjected to the kingdom of Wessex the states of the falsely-named Heptarchy. It is here that English history properly commences. There was not yet a compact nationality, for each state retained its laws and language, and even its form of government. The predominant element in the population gave it the name of Angleland, from a race whose descendants inhabit that part of the duchy of Schleswig which lies between Flensburg and the Schley. How inveterate is the hostility of

races! Within the last four years, this territory has been devastated by the same struggle between Saxon and Scandinavian which convulsed the reign of Ælfred a thousand years ago.

It was on those plains of Jutland, and on the bleak coast of Norway, vexed by the fierce winds of the northern Atlantic and lashed by its angry waves, that the race of fierce, hardy mariners sprang up who were destined to overrun the Eastern coast of Europe, to colonize Iceland, and to anticipate Columbus in the discovery of the New World. "Söhanner" they delighted to style themselves, — "Seacocks, who scorn to sleep by the corner of the hearth, or under sooty beams." They were fierce, bloodthirsty barbarians, distinguished for nothing but that hardy brute energy to which they were disciplined by a rigorous climate, a barren soil, and a perilous life upon the ocean. In vain we seek to detect among them the traces of any civilization, or culture of any sort. Driven by a restless spirit, it was their custom to sally forth in all directions on predatory expeditions, regardless of the very fundamental principle of society. In these voyages, they had coasted along the English Channel, and even penetrated the Mediterranean, and learned but too well the rich harvests of plunder to be reaped in the lands that lay to the South. Scarcely had the Saxon states become united, and the national name been adopted at a Witena Gemot at Winchester, when the Scandinavian boats appeared on the coast of England, and carried there the same terror and calamity they were carrying into Holland, France, and Spain. The Saxon empire was at that time blooming in prosperity and rapidly advancing in civilization. There was every thing to allure invasion, with no organized force to repel it. We read with surprise of the magnificent presents the father of Ælfred was able, a few years later, after his resources had been diminished by invasion, to lay at the feet of the Roman Pontiff. This barbarian king from a distant island passed the winter of 855–6 at Rome, with a large number of his retainers; and the value and taste of his gifts found honorable mention in the annals of the Popes. A golden crown four pounds in weight, two cups of the purest gold, a sword richly adorned with gold, two golden im-

ages, Saxon vessels of gilt and silver, and richly ornamented vestments for the service of the Church, attest the height of civilization and refinement the Saxons had attained. The profusion with which he lavished wealth upon the bishops, the clergy, and all classes of Romans, as well as the provision for a yearly illumination on Easter Eve, attest the resources of this pious king, who "booked the tenth part of the land throughout his realm for God's glory and his own salvation." For the want of authentic history, this statement gives scope for inferences in regard to the arts and civilization of the Saxons. Their silver-workers are said to have been famous throughout Europe. All over the island rich monasteries were scattered, which had been fattening for years on piety, penitence, and remorse. Wealthy in land and serfs, they had also accumulated in their vaults jewels, crosses of gold, garments, and treasure of every kind. The city of York, the capital of northern, as London was of southern, England, was renowned all over christendom for its wealth and learning. There was that famous library, founded by archbishop Ecgberht, whither Alcuin proposes to Charlemagne to send his copyists to "transplant its fruits to the paradise at Tours." Perhaps its treasures were England's greatest misfortune; for York was among the first cities that fell into the hands of the Danes, and the riches found there may have allured other adventurers.

Centuries of peace had now almost healed the wounds of conquest. The races had not amalgamated, but a common religious faith was fast uniting them. The worship of Woden had given way to the faith in Christ. Mercia had been ruled by some of the most pious kings in history, according to the fashion of piety in those days. A remarkable proportion of the brightest lights of the church of the Middle Age were natives of Great Britain.

Under these circumstances, no greater calamity could befall the nation than its conquest by the pagan Vikings of Scandinavia. A weak constitution is prostrated by the poison which a healthy man throws off without danger. The Christianity of Britain had survived one draught of paganism. Could it survive another? Could it defend itself? Peace and a southern climate had ener-

vated the Saxon conquerors. The wild hordes that swept across the North Sea under the sons of Woden, kings without soil, were as fierce and lawless as vultures. Christianity and its results are on the one side, Woden-worship and its results on the other. Which is to be the victor?

From the fiords of Denmark, the wild coasts of Ireland and Scotland are easily accessible; and there it is probable the Vikings first established themselves at convenient points, and made their descent in perfect ease and security upon the English villages. At first, they came solely for the purpose of plunder. They landed wherever they chose; and though they were sometimes resisted with bravery, and properly punished for their temerity, it soon became too evident that, before such warriors, the peaceful inhabitants were as defenceless as they were wealthy. Probably with this discovery, their expeditions ripened into a more systematic and determined purpose, and began to look toward permanent conquest and settlement. The heroic legends, always dealing with passions of some sort, have linked this purpose with the motive of revenge. The great Jarl, Regner Lodbrog, they relate, was one day wrecked on the coast of Northumberland, and, with his armed followers, fell into the hands of the Saxon king Ella. The old man, hero of many battles, was condemned to die. Disdaining to save his life by declaring his name, he was cast into a pen of snakes, where, in the agonies of death, he raised his exulting song, "Grynte vilde Grisene kjendte de Gattens skjebne;" "How the young pigs would grunt if they knew the old boar's fate." Then, too late, king Ella knew to his terror who it was that he had slain, and that Ingvar and Ubba would come over to avenge the death of their parent.* And terrible in truth, was the vengeance which those two Vikings exercised upon the Saxons.

It was at the Wash, on the eastern coast of England, that the Danes gained their first permanent footing, five years before Ælfred became king. After a winter's rest, they marched northward to the Humber. Their courage

* Worsaae's *Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England*, &c. London, 1852, p. 33.

and ferocity were such as were never before witnessed. The ruins of churches and dwellings marked their course. York was taken and garrisoned as the permanent centre of operations. One great battle was fought, in which all power of resistance in the north was annihilated. That victory made the Danes masters from the Tweed to the Mersey. North of the Thames there remained but the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia, and they by themselves were powerless. To the southward lay the kingdoms of Kent and Wessex, firmly united under one ruler. If that state had resources sufficient for the emergency, they lay in the energy of an individual. Onward the tide rolled to the very borders of Wessex. Arms could not resist nor treaties bind the perfidious barbarians. East Anglia sank into paganism again, and Mercia was trampled under the feet of those terrible brothers, Ingvar and Ubba. Four years have now passed since the landing at the Wash, and all the North of England has been overrun. The largest, most powerful, and richest state remains to be subjected.

In the winter of 870, two more of the "Old Boar's" family, the Vikings Bagscecg and Healfdene, and in their company, the Jarls Osbearn, Frene, Harald, and the two Sidrocs, sailed up the Thames, to carve for themselves kingdoms and counties out of Wessex with the sword. Without resistance, they penetrated to the very heart of the beautiful districts of southern England, and entered the city of Reading, a place accessible by water, easily defended, and, from its central position, adapted to their purpose. It was to serve them in Wessex, as York had served them in Northumberland. The West Saxons, surprised but not disheartened, met them at last at Ashdowne. In this first memorable battle, one division was commanded by the youthful Ælfred, the other by the king his brother. At early break of day, while the king was reading prayers in his tent, the younger and more self-reliant hero, watchful for his hour, was grappling with the Danes in their intrenchments. The fight went on with terrible clamor. The safety of home and religion inspired the Saxons to unusual courage, and they gained the victory. Bagscecg fell under the hands of king Æthelred, and the two Sidrocs, Osbearn, Frene, and Harald won the

darker side of the alternative, — in place of realms and counties, violent death. Never had the Norsemen suffered such a defeat. All the way to Reading their bodies strowed the wayside, as they fell in flight. The glory of the victory belongs to the youth whose genius selected the fortunate moment, and whose courage inspired the ranks. He was hailed, at the age of twenty-one, as the savior of his country.

But Wessex was still in danger, and his labors for her sake had but begun. From such enemies as the Danes, the only safety is annihilation or expulsion. Reading was still in their possession. New forces were coming from the inexhaustible North. The Danes were soon superior in strength; the Saxons were defeated; the king died of his wounds; and, in a moment of utter despair, when North England was in the hands of the pirates, and in the heart of Wessex itself the cancer was festering, the reign of "England's darling" commenced. He received a crown without power, a nation without resources. To his care were intrusted a declining civilization and a defenceless religion.

The charming traditions of Ælfred's early life have been reviewed at length by Dr. Pauli. Many of them, from internal or external evidence, he is constrained to pronounce unhistoric. They have been too lately presented in this Review to require to be told again, nor are they tales which we wish to examine critically, but are ready to receive them, whether true or false, as characteristic of the man. A true Saxon mother formed his mind; the queen city of the world awoke his tastes in early boyhood; the reigns of his three brothers covered the period of his youth, and the active part he was permitted to take in affairs as soon as he had arrived at mature years taught him how to govern. Dr. Pauli has gleaned over this period, and shown how little light it sheds on the character and pursuits of the young prince. He was fond of the hunt, and excelled in it, as in all those exercises which strengthen the muscles and knit the frame for endurance. Equally fond of learning, where could he find the needful assistance? The presence of the Northmen had quenched into utter darkness the light of Saxon learning. Not a single great teacher graced that

church which had once possessed a Bede, an Alcuin, and an Adhelm. Scarcely a single layman could read or write. These were the difficulties under which Ælfred commenced those studies which raised him to the highest rank in literature. He somehow learned to read and write, and in his early days, began a book of miscellanies, in which, from time to time, he wrote down prayers, psalms, and the service of the hours, and of which his friend Asser said, many years later, that he could find no spot in which to write a sentence. He carried it constantly in his bosom, for reference and study.

At the age of nineteen, he was married to a lady of the royal house of Mercia. The occasion was celebrated with great magnificence and with feasting that extended over many days. The great crowd of guests were entertained with the traditional hospitality and profusion of the Saxons. But a sad event interrupted the festivities, and gave them a memorable place in history. In the midst of the revelry, the young bridegroom was seized with a most unaccountable sickness, which the gayety around him rendered, by contrast, more distressing. Suspicions were whispered from one to another, that he had been bewitched, or that the devil himself, envious of his virtues, had stricken him down, or that poison had been put in his goblet. Whatever may have been the cause, from its effects he never recovered. It proved a more merciless enemy even than the Vikings. Perhaps it contributed to form within him his sublime patience and fortitude.

"There were moments," says Pauli, "in which this sickness seemed to unfit him for all divine and human affairs. But rest for a day or a night, or even for an hour, always reinspired his courage; he learned under these bodily sufferings, which we may presume were of an epileptic nature, how to overcome in his struggles with the wildest of enemies, the heaviest sorrows that ever weighed upon a ruler, and under all the obstacles of bodily weakness and outward opposition, to raise his people to a higher civilization. Scarcely had he entered into public life, scarcely had he laid the foundation for his own domestic happiness, when this burden fell upon him. What various discipline was it needful for him to undergo to prepare him for the coming days of misfortune, and to keep his courage and hope in flame!"

It was not long after this event that Ælfred ascended the throne of Wessex; and at about the same time the forces of the Danes received new accessions, and earnest preparations were made to overwhelm the last spark of resistance in southern England. The first seven years of his reign were given entirely to efforts of self-preservation. The Saxons were unequal to their antagonists, less perhaps in courage than in stratagem; and besides, in the struggle carried on at their own homes, their loss was always infinitely greater. The Danes were dead to any sense of honor, and could not be bound by treaty or oath. Peace was several times purchased of them at the most enormous prices; they repeatedly gave their most sacred promise to retire from the territory of Wessex, and as often violated it. In appearance, these seven years were a period of disaster and defeat; in truth, they were years of discipline and preparation. One brilliant victory, attributable entirely to the genius of Ælfred, relieved the dreary uniformity of distress; and this was the more remarkable, because it was gained partly upon the sea, and was the first instance in which the Norsemen had been met with success upon their own element. But it was followed by no important results. In spite of the tremendous efforts of the young king, the Saxons had lost ground constantly before their enemies, until the year 878, when another great army rolled upon exhausted Wessex, led by a brother of Ingvar and Healfdene, — Ubba, it may be. Then followed that period of darkness and distress, which has so often in history preceded the awakening of a nation's powers and the exercise of every energy in self-defence. It was exactly the discipline which was necessary to teach the Saxons, that, if they hoped for a permanent peace, it was to be bought, not by money, but by arms.

At the sight of the new army, despair deepened on every side. The warfare had been going on for ten years, and on the side of the Saxons victory had been almost as ruinous as defeat. The spiritless inhabitants had no nerve for undertaking the struggle anew with fresh forces; they preferred to give up their land rather than to defend it. The wealthy gathered their goods together, and crossed over to France. Bishops, priests, and monks, always

the first sufferers, hastened to emigrate with their relics and treasures. The poor only awaited the tender mercies of the victor. But it was a portent ominous to the Danes, that, just on the eve of this disastrous period, a party of brave Saxon nobles had won that raven banner which the daughters of Regner Lodbrog had woven in a morning hour, and by their heathen arts had given a magic power, that the ranks before which it moved should always win the victory.

"When the Danes had poured from Gloucester southward, and taken Chippenham, when the brave defenders of Cynwith had won that northern banner of which we have no further trace, when the heathen had overrun all the provinces of Wessex, there was but one who would not surrender, who withdrew from the sight of friends and foes. It was Ælfred, the king without crown, but still the shield and defence of his people. If, in the moment when all forsook him, he had lost that confidence in God to which he had disciplined himself by a long course of daily and hourly exercises, if he had sought and found the death of despair, if he had counted on the pity of the perjured heathen, or, in the luckiest event, had died like the last king of the Mercians, a pious pilgrim at Rome, then with him would have fallen all hope of retaining England for the Christian faith. The British inhabitants could not have rescued Christianity. The preaching of those monks who, after the destruction of their cloisters, wandered alone about the country, or settled as hermits in the wilderness, had made no impression on these rough natures which, matured in cold and storm, held fast to the awfully sublime deities of Asgard and Valhalla. At the old scenes of the fallen Woden service of the Saxons, once more were offered bloody sacrifices to Odin and Thor. The Christian population, now that their leaders and teachers had disappeared or become powerless, retaining many an old remnant of their former superstitions, had gradually given up the blessings of conversion, and turned anew to the idol altars on which their conquerors sacrificed."

Undoubtedly nothing but the single-handed energy of Ælfred had protracted the struggle and so long averted destruction; and even at such a time as this, he did not lose his courage or his hope. With admirable prudence he selected a place of retreat in the county of Somerset, and there, in an impenetrable morass, awaited the coming of more favorable times.

As this was the darkest period of Ælfred's life, it has

naturally afforded the widest field for legendary growth. A number of narratives have sprung up and taken their place in history, and these legends have not escaped the searching criticism of Dr. Pauli. Popular affection, and monkish zeal for the honor of the church are the sources of some; others have been taken from the lives of other men, and clustered around the name of Ælfred. Their truth or falsehood does not affect the main facts of history, and we pass them by, merely remarking that we think our author has been led by his predilection for critical analysis to deal with some of them more harshly than they merit.

"It is a frequently recurring fact in the world's history," he writes, "that the rescue of a whole realm and the expulsion of foreign conquerors has come from a remote province, from a tract naturally wild and inaccessible. In the narrow glens of Austria, Pelayo, the last scion of the Goths, the miraculous hero of Spain, immediately after the fall of his people, laid the first foundation for the rescue of the peninsula. From the eastern borders of Prussia sounded that first call to arms, which had for its consequence the expulsion of Napoleon's army from Germany. It is noble, when, after centuries, a brave people still remembers with gratitude the spot where its salvation from a great danger originated, and where the cradle of its freedom was rocked. To this day, at the mention of the sufferings and exploits of Ælfred, the Englishman points the stranger with pride to the lowlands of Somerset.

"In that inhospitable region, Ælfred and his companions were compelled to pass several winter months. It is not possible to learn circumstantially the sufferings which they there underwent. In the midst of the morass but scanty provisions were to be found; and Asser narrates that the king and his little band, composed of some noblemen, warriors, and vassals, were compelled from time to time to undertake an expedition to get from the heathen, or from those Christians who had submitted to the yoke of the Danes, food and drink, by force or persuasion, for their wives and children whom they had left in the thickets. Ælfred, whom the Danes and West Saxons probably believed to have disappeared forever, led a life so needy and perilous as little befitted a king."

The extremity to which defeat had reduced the princes of Wessex, and the peril that surrounded them on every side, made the winter in Somersetshire as memorable as that at Valley Forge. It resembled it, also, in the forti-

tude it elicited and the success by which it was followed. As the spring came on, Ælfred ventured to forsake his hiding place, and with his few attendants to take possession of and fortify a spot near the present town of Somerton. The place was identified in modern times by the discovery of a jewel, supposed to have been attached to the end of his sceptre. It is a stone set in gold, containing a mosaic of green and yellow, and bearing the words, "Ælfred mec heht gewyrcan," *Ælfred had me wrought.* It is no contemptible specimen of art.

Their few months' experience of the rapacity of the Danish rule had prepared the people to make a new and more vigorous effort to throw it off; and when it was noised abroad that the king was living, they joyfully flocked to his assistance, and his little body-guard became the nucleus of a large army. With these forces, animated by such a spirit, he fell upon the Danes, and in one battle recovered his throne. The pests of Chippenham were smoked out of their retreat, and once more, "moved by his own pity," as Asser says, the gentle Ælfred received their hostages and let them go. This time, however, they consented to embrace Christianity, and solemnly received the baptism.

The revulsion was sudden and complete. An entire change had been wrought in the spirit of the Saxons by the sufferings of that winter. For Ælfred, it was sufficient triumph to have driven the Danes out of Wessex, for it was but too evident that no power could ever dislodge them from the eastern coast. It was a wiser policy to give to the races a common Christianity, in which they might find sympathy and union; and this policy he adhered to with complete success.

A formal treaty with the Danes was entered into, and, at a Witena Gemot at Winchester, the boundaries of Wessex were established. They extended from the mouth of the Thames up the river to the Lea, thence up the Lea to its sources, thence to Bedford, thence up the Ouse to Watling Street. Ælfred preserved this territory during twenty-two years, and transmitted it undiminished to his successor. His courage had won him the respect of the Danes, and the storms which continued to sweep over Holland and France left him in comparative repose. Once, toward

the close of his reign, he was again attacked; but under his government, peace had prepared the land for war, and the pirates were driven into the ocean without extraordinary exertion.

We have seen that Ælfred was born in an age when civilization had ripened to no mean perfection. It was therefore his glory to have been, not the founder, but the savior, of English institutions. The Saxons had, in the course of four centuries, not only become converted to Christianity, but had given to Germany her religion and her early mental development. The Danes were still the most barbarous of Pagans. The wonderful genius of Ælfred enabled him to defer the fall of the Saxon supremacy, until the conquerors had become converted, and in some sense, Saxonized. By his side at Winchester slumbered the two Danish kings, Canute and Hardicanute, in the sacred protection of those churches which their ancestors had devastated with such ruthless violence. The respect they showed to the religion of Christ is the best monument to the memory of Ælfred. The rescue of Christianity in England from a great danger was owing to his personal exertions. It is also due to him, that, whatever the mixture of blood in English veins, the language and institutions of England have received as little contribution from the Danes as from the Britons. The basis of both is Anglo-Saxon.

During the twenty-two peaceful years of his reign, he gave his untiring energies to the promotion of the welfare of his people. From the rude Ældormen he snatched the absolute authority they had exercised within their own domains, and insured, under heavy penalties, the administration of justice. Evil or corrupt judges he visited with unmerciful severity. To the ignorant he said, "I wonder at your presumption that you, who have been clad by God and myself with the office and dignity of wise men, have entirely forsaken the labors and studies of the wise; therefore, either lay down your worldly power, or interest yourself a little more about culture." And the tenacious office-holders rivalled the school-children rather than resign. He compiled a new code of laws, adding a few original ones; and to them he prefixed the decalogue of Moses, excluding the injunction against im-

age-worship, and appending the apostolic letter in the 15th chapter of Acts. His original additions were prefaced with these modest words; "I, Ælfred, the king of the West Saxons, showed them all to my Witan, and they said that it pleased them all that they should be observed;" — a deference that is quite unlike the arbitrary spirit of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, or the Stuarts.

And yet, the measures of Ælfred vastly increased the royal prerogative. But it was the increase of a power which was the shield of the mass from the usurpations of the restless nobility. It was the substitution of a strong central government for the lawlessness of a feudal aristocracy. There was not a subject of the Saxon Ælfred, whose rights were not guaranteed to him by law, and who did not find in the monarch a powerful and willing protector. That was a true Anglo-Saxon spirit, and one which deserves an apotheosis in the songs and traditions of his race, that spoke in the will of Ælfred: — "I pray, in the name of God and of his saints, that none of my kinsmen or heirs oppress any of my dependents for whom I paid, and whom the Witan of the West Saxons legally adjudged to me, that I might hold them free or serf, whichever I chose; but I, for God's love and my own soul's need, will that they shall enjoy their freedom and their choice; and I command, in the name of the living God, that no one disquiet them, either by demand of money, or in any other way, so that they may not choose whomsoever they please [as protectors."] *

With the increased efficiency of the crown was naturally connected an increased importance at home and abroad, and a closer union with foreign powers. Not only did Ælfred hold intercourse with Rome, but his messengers visited Jerusalem, and penetrating to the most distant East, brought back gems and spices, some of which existed in England for several centuries.

Whatever tended to elevate, enlighten, and refine his people, found encouragement in Ælfred. He sent for learned men from abroad to instruct his clergy, of whom not a single priest could translate a Latin work. It was his wish, he tells us, "that all the free-born youth of his

* Thorpe, *Saxons in England*, Vol. i. p. 504.

people should come under instruction, so long as they have no other business to follow, until they can read English perfectly; and moreover, that those who are to be consecrated to the service of the church should be instructed in Latin." In this wish is the germ of our own common-school system; and during Ælfred's reign it was thoroughly carried into effect. Everywhere the youth of Wessex were taught to read and write; and so great was the zeal, that grayheaded men sat by the side of their sons, and acquired of them with difficulty the knowledge they had neglected in youth.

The king himself was foremost in all these pursuits. He had become the most learned Saxon in his realm. By the invention of an ingenious machine to divide his time, he had carried method into life, and been able to accomplish an amount of labor that is astonishing. Like Charlemagne, he had clerks around him constantly, to read to him at every leisure moment. He labored, wrote, and translated unweariedly, and always for the benefit of his people. In life, he gave a new impulse to a weakened and declining civilization; and in death, he left a character in which gentleness, unrelaxing fortitude, religious faith, manly courage, and the love of learning and military genius united in a model of manhood.

We are glad that the historical skepticism of Dr. Pauli has been so moderately zealous that it has done no further harm than to shatter a few anecdotes, some of which certainly contributed to give the life of our favorite hero the air of fiction. The greatness of the man stands forth in even clearer colors in the light of his pages. He is among the first to do discriminating justice to Ælfred's character and times. In every respect the biography is a valuable contribution to English history. Our imperfect sketch has done no justice to the varied information which crowds its concise and nervous pages. But much as we esteem it in itself, we value it still more highly for the promise which it gives of future efforts in the same field; and we shall look with high expectations for the fruits which English History is to reap from the labors of his matured powers.

Art. VI. — *Wesley and Methodism.* By Isaac Taylor. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 328.

The anti-Romish movement of the sixteenth century resulted, not from a single impulse, but from the combination of widely dissimilar forces. The Church of Rome had done equal violence to men's religious and civil rights. With iron grasp, she had compressed with one hand the collective conscience of Western Christendom, while with the other she had been writing her indelible Corban on so large a proportion of public and private property and revenue, as to cripple enterprise and industry, embarrass sovereigns, and impoverish nations. God and Mammon were alike her enemies. While reviving spirituality and devotion spurned her leaden yoke, needy sovereigns and profligate nobles coveted her abbey-lands, her wine-cellars, and her ingots.

On the continent of Europe, the true reformers retained their ascendency in the movement, while the "spoils party" marched under their banners, and appropriated the fruits of their iconoclasm in all its forms. In England, on the other hand, there was no indigenous Protestantism. Anger and lust first gave, and cupidity sustained, the impulse, which issued in what is called the English Reformation. During the brief reign of Edward, indeed, the influence of Geneva was strongly felt both in theology and in individual character. The liturgy was expurgated, many Romish usages were discontinued, and many Romish doctrines were modified. But the fires of Smithfield and the reëstablishment of the papal authority destroyed almost all vestiges of the Latimer and Ridley school; so that, on Elizabeth's accession, the revolution in the national religion was hardly less arbitrary, or more the result of conscientious anti-Romanism, than had been the like revolution under her father's auspices; — yet with this difference, that the symbols and services of the Church, having become semi-Protestant under Edward, necessitated a wider departure from Romanism than would otherwise have been consistent with the views of Elizabeth and her prelacy. From this time, the rapid influx of continental Protestantism, instead of leavening the Church, gave rise

to the several divisions of the Puritan faction, and to the culminating power of Presbyterianism and Independency. Had not Charles II. been openly a truce-breaker, and secretly under Romish influence, the Church, as restored under his auspices, would have comprehended the milder forms of dissent, and have become closely assimilated to the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies on the Continent. But the war of extermination under Charles and his ill-starred brother almost eliminated Puritanism from the kingdom, while it found a congenial asylum in the North American colonies.

The Church of England was thus left, on the accession of William and Mary to the throne, neither Protestant nor Romish. Its articles were, indeed, strongly tinctured with the Genevan theology; but its liturgy had never been brought into conformity with them. On the other hand, it was conformed to the theory of baptismal regeneration, and recognized as members of the Church and fit candidates for heaven all baptized persons not excommunicated, so that the burial-service was tantamount to a sentence of expurgation and salvation. But while these Romish notions were embodied in the liturgy, the English Church had cut itself loose from the traditions which alone could give them a strong hold upon the popular belief; and there was, at the same time, too much religious intelligence for their passive reception by thinking men. Then, too, the dependence of the Church upon the State and the strong Erastian tendencies of its prelacy were unfavorable to a high tone of religious faith or sentiment; while the tenure of ecclesiastical livings was such as to throw them frequently into the hands of men whom the people could never have elected, and could not possibly reverence either as teachers or exemplars of piety. In this posture of affairs, it is by no means strange that infidelity should have made its appearance in circles of high intelligence and culture, and should have infused itself largely into the popular mind. The deistical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries comprised some of the most profound scholars, acute reasoners, and brilliant rhetoricians of their times. Their works had little of the coarse ribaldry which subsequently made infidelity infamous, and were often rendered attractive by the forci-

ble exhibition of the great truths of natural religion and the fundamental principles of ethics. Their popularity called forth the antagonism of many of the best minds in the Church, and drafted for the defence of the faith the very men, who else would have been its most effective teachers and its most conspicuous ornaments. The controversy was necessary, and was nobly sustained; but the very fact that Christianity was contending for its existence prevented its making any aggressive movement on abounding worldliness and profligacy.

The condition of the dissenting Churches in the early part of the seventeenth century was in some respects widely different from that of the Establishment. The double burdens which their members bore for the support of religious institutions, and their numerous civil disabilities, were a guaranty for their sincerity and devotedness. To the names of Watts, Doddridge, and Lardner, we might add many more of unsurpassed fidelity and excellence in their respective spheres of duty, whose virtues gave lustre to their age, and whose writings will instruct and edify generations yet to come. But the line of separation was then sharply drawn. The walls of the Established Church were impervious to light from beyond its pale. Dissenters might occupy a respectable, but not a commanding, social position. Excluded from the Universities and from all official posts beyond their own congregations, they exerted an influence immeasurably below their merits, and their truly illustrious men were much less known and honored in their lifetime than they are now. The missionary spirit had not been awakened among them, and the quiet occupancy of their own posts filled up their measure, and satisfied their standard, of duty.

Meanwhile, there were on English soil growing multitudes, for whose religious needs no provision was made, and who were the subjects of no clerical ministration whatever, except in the articles of baptism, marriage, and burial. The Church was in substantially the same condition in which parliamentary representation was before the passage of the Reform Bill. Parishes retained the territorial limits of much earlier times, while population had dwindled away in some localities and had rapidly increased in others. Thus a hamlet of a dozen souls

might have its well-served curacy, while the incumbent of St. Giles had parishioners enough to people a brace of German principalities. The collieries, the dock-yards, the poorer neighborhoods in cities, persons engaged in coast-wise navigation, and the dwellers in the purlieus of wharves and warehouses, were, for the most part, in a condition of virtual heathenism. Bible societies had not been thought of, cheap reading for the millions was a later invention, and the ability to read was not frequent enough among the less privileged classes to enable them to profit largely by the printed page. There was no system in operation for the general diffusion of intellectual light, moral culture, or religious sentiment.

It was under these circumstances that Methodism had its birth. John Wesley, its founder, seems to have enjoyed the best possible Providential training for his mission. His father, though the son and grandson of ejected ministers, held a distinguished place among the clergy of the Established Church, and was devotedly and somewhat bigotedly attached to its institutions and its worship. His mother was the daughter of an eminent nonconformist divine, and, though outwardly reconciled to the Church by her marriage, retained through life her strong sympathies with dissent, and her independence of prescribed and conventional modes of religious action. During her husband's frequent absences, she held religious meetings at her own house on Sunday afternoons, notwithstanding his strong disapprobation and earnest remonstrances. The son inherited from one parent his life-long dread of separation from the Establishment, from the other, the religious zeal which could not brook the straitlacing of canonical forms, places, and seasons. At six years of age, John was almost miraculously rescued from the conflagration of his father's house, — an event which, in after life, impressed him with a strong sense of his peculiar mission and destiny, and was commemorated by himself in one of his engraved portraits, which had a burning house for its background, with the motto, "Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning?" While he was at school, there occurred at his father's house a series of unaccountable and reputedly supernatural disturbances, probably the result of mischievous contrivance

on the part of some of the servants or neighbors, yet adapted to awaken in the mind of a sensitive boy a profound feeling of the reality and nearness of the spiritual world.

At Oxford, Wesley, as an undergraduate, was a youth of pure morals and of unblemished sobriety of deportment; but when the time for the choice of a profession drew nigh, he was not sufficiently assured of his own religious state, to contemplate the ordination vows without conscientious scruples as to his fitness to take them. The treatise *De Imitatione Christi* and Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, about this time, led him into regions of more intimate religious experience, and rendered essential aid in his preparation of heart for the sacred office. Shortly after his ordination, he was elected to a Fellowship; and when he returned to Oxford to discharge its duties, he found his brother Charles a member of a religious society among the students, which had received, partly in derision, and partly on account of the methodical and somewhat ascetic life of its members, the *sobriquet* of Methodists. Of this circle John became the leader. The influences derived from these associates were adapted to strengthen and deepen the devotional element in his character, but at the same time to alienate his sympathies from the world at large, and to shut them up within a sort of close corporation of rigid pietists. Yet this period of his life must have been invaluable as a season of spiritual nurture for his subsequent labors. In after years, he was too busy and care-cumbered for prolonged retirement or contemplation, and a superficial piety would have been exhaled in the incessant and monotonous routine of journeying, correspondence, financial administration, and extemporaneous preaching. This interval, consecrated to devout introspection, religious communion, and the passive luxury of meditation and prayer, rendered his inward life so rich, full, and fervent, that he never afterwards sank into the perfunctory discharge of the clerical office, but retained, to the day of his death, the freshness of his zeal and the warm glow of a heart in constant intercourse with heaven.

At this period, he shrank from the active duties of his profession, and declined a curacy under his father, with

the prospect of succession to his living, on the ground that his own personal salvation would be endangered by intercourse with miscellaneous society. He however suddenly adopted the resolution of going to the then newly-planted colony of Georgia, as a chaplain and missionary. On his passage, he became deeply interested in a party of Moravian fellow-passengers, united with them in their daily religious services, imbibed much of their social and loving spirit, and learned from them that the active service of man was the true post of loyalty to God. On his arrival at Savannah, he entered upon a course of ministerial and pastoral duty, in which we discern the first distinct foreshadowing of what he afterwards became. With punctilious adherence to the rubric of the Church, even where custom had modified it, he connected many extra-ecclesiastical observances and practices. He established a regular system of parochial visitation, and instituted a series of social meetings, not unlike the more recent Methodist class-meetings. He preached earnestly against luxury in apparel, and was himself an example of the severest self-denial in things innocent, as well as in matters of doubtful expediency. His brother Charles, who had accompanied him, pursued a not dissimilar course at Frederica, only with a wilder zeal and less discretion. Such close and merciless censors of manners and morals, such purists of the inmost initiation, were ill adapted to the lax notions and easy habits of a new colony. They encountered serious embarrassment and opposition, and probably never gave so much gratification to the governor and to the major part of his subjects, as when they severally reëmbarked for England.

Meanwhile, Whitefield had commenced drawing multitudes to listen to him in Bristol and in London. His life-long and unbounded popularity is a mystery, which has never been fully solved. His printed sermons are meagre, vapid, and many degrees below mediocrity. His endowments as a pulpit orator were indeed great, but by no means unique. Yet he could command at once the reverence of the loftiest, and the control of the humblest, minds, the hearty admiration of brilliant and accomplished scoffers and infidels, and the rapt attention of the coarsest and most ignorant. We have repeatedly conversed with old people

who had heard him preach in their youth; and their uniform testimony has been, that his sermons and their delivery had no one remarkable characteristic exclusively their own, and yet that no eloquence could equal his in its simultaneous influence over persons of every age, condition, and culture. We are disposed to ascribe his power, first, to his intense and vivid realization of the truths of religion as ever-present elements of his own experience, and, secondly, to the fact that in every sermon he arraigned his hearers before the tribunal of the Omniscient Judge, and dwelt solely on the relation in which they stood to God, as guilty, accountable, death-bound, and immortal beings. His active religious consciousness imparted that indescribable glow of countenance and manner, which wrought even upon the deaf, and those beyond the sound of his voice, with hardly less power than upon those within reach of his words; while his uniform habit of direct appeal to his hearers, as resting either beneath the condemning sentence or the complacent regard of the Almighty, forced home upon every soul the question which no human being can ever put to himself without the concentration of his whole moral nature upon the answer, — "How stand I at this moment in the eye of the omnipresent God?"

Whitefield had just left London, when John Wesley arrived there on his return from Georgia. Whitefield had no administrative talent, and was effective solely as an awakening preacher. Wesley was a *Methodist* by nature, had a genius for system, and attached little value to sporadic and unorganized effort. He at once gathered the new converts into bands or classes, with rules for mutual vigilance and helpfulness in the spiritual life, and with definite forms for the introduction, training, testing, and final reception of catechumens. The society embraced at the outset only between forty and fifty persons; but its constitution involved the very same principles, which are now embodied in the great Methodist hierarchy on both sides of the Atlantic. The *class* is the integral element, the paradigm of Methodism. The classes are the integers of the congregation, the congregations of the local conference, the local conferences of the general conference; and at every stage the typical form is repeated, the official

heads or representatives of each lower class constituting the members or laity of the next higher. Our limits will not permit us to follow Wesley through the details of a period of active service seldom equalled in duration, and entirely unparalleled in extent, in laboriousness, and in vigor of body and mind unimpaired, till he had completed the full cycle of fourscore years. We shall enter more fully into the merits and defects of his system, when we have taken some brief notice of his principal coadjutors.

Second, and hardly second, to John, stands Charles, Wesley, in the annals of Methodism. Among rude and unlettered people, the soul is reached mainly by impressions upon the organs of sense, and in no way so effectually as through music. Every popular movement in social reform, political regeneration, or religious revival, has had its own canon of poetical inspiration and its own peculiar type of lyrical melody. Hans Sachs merits a foremost place among the Reformers of the sixteenth century; and popery might have still been the *Paganism* of many a village and hamlet in now Protestant Germany, had not the minstrel cordwainer flooded the land with anti-Romish songs and ballads. Among the English poets of the sanctuary, it is almost a mockery to name Tate and Brady; for in the days of the Wesleys, the singing of their psalms merely filled up the robe-changing interval in the service of the Church, while all the musical power and the religious impression of the orchestra were concentrated in those majestic chants and anthems, the introduction of which into the worship of Dissenters has transfused new life into their too tame and barren devotional forms. Watts and Doddridge were unsurpassed in their peculiar vein; but their hymns were best adapted to the quiescent condition of the religious communities to which they belonged. They represented the statics of piety. Methodism demanded a psalmody which should embody its dynamic forces. This desideratum Charles Wesley supplied. With a rhythmical ear, a clarified taste, and a tender sympathy with every phasis and transition of spiritual experience, an emotional nature always profoundly moved, an intimate conversance with the Scriptures, and a lyrico-dramatic power of elaborating all their materials, whether of history, doctrine, precept, or prophecy, he became the life and

soul of the new movement; and it is due to him, that, however inane the preaching may be, it is impossible that a Methodist congregation should part unimpressed and unedified. In their metrical form, in their musical cadence and mellifluous flow, his hymns occupy the first place and an almost solitary eminence in the English language. They can hardly be read unmusically, and almost sing themselves. Then, too, it has been well said of them, that they are not written on abstract subjects, such as faith, humility, resignation, but always represent the religious life in some one of its concrete states or movements, so that each might be assumed as a leaf of autobiography. But we can do them more ample justice by the following paragraphs from the book placed at the head of this article.

"Ought not then the disposing hand of God to be acknowledged in this instance, remarkable as it is, that, when myriads of uncultured and lately ferocious spirits were to be reclaimed, a gift of song, such as that of Charles Wesley, should have been conferred upon one of the company employed in this work? To estimate duly what was the influence of this rare gift, and to measure its importance, one should be able to recall scenes and times gone by, when Methodism was much nearer to its source than now it is, and when 'Hymn 147, page 145,' announced by the preacher in a tone curiously blending the perfunctory with the animated,

'O Love Divine, how sweet thou art!'

woke up all ears, eyes, hearts, and voices, in a crowded chapel. It was, indeed, a spectacle worth the gazing upon! It was a service well to have joined in (once and again) when words of such power, flowing in rich cadence, and conveying, with an intensity of emphasis, the loftiest, the deepest, and the most tender emotions of the divine life, were taken up feelingly by an assembly of men and women, to whom, very lately, whatever was not of the 'earth—earthy' had neither charm nor meaning.

"Rugged forms were those that filled the benches on the one hand; nor were they the fairest in the world that were ranged on the other; but there was soul in the erect posture when the congregation rose to sing, as well as in the glistening eye; and it was a cordial animation that gave compass to the voices of these, the ransomed of Methodism. Perhaps it was a little more than a particle of meaning that some gathered from the hymn. But to the hearts of many, its deepest sense—the poet's own sense

of the words — was quite intelligible, and was intimately relished. Who could doubt it, that had an eye to read the heart in the beaming countenances around him? Thus it was that Charles Wesley, richly gifted as he was with graces, genius, and talents, drew souls — thousands of souls — in his wake, from Sunday to Sunday, and he so drew them onward from earth to heaven by the charm of sacred verse!

"It may be affirmed that there is no principal element of Christianity, no main article of belief, as professed by Protestant Churches — that there is no moral or ethical sentiment, peculiarly characteristic of the Gospel — no height or depth of feeling, proper to the spiritual life, that does not find itself emphatically, and pointedly, and clearly conveyed in some stanza of Charles Wesley's hymns. These compositions embody the theory, and the practice, and the theopathy of the Christian system; and they do so with extremely little admixture of what ought to be regarded as questionable, or that is not warranted by some evidence of Scripture. What we have here before us is a metrical liturgy; and by the combination of rhythm, rhyme, and music, it effectively secures to the mass of worshippers much of the benefit of liturgical worship. Such a liturgy, thus performed by animated congregations, melted itself into the very soul of the people, and was perhaps that part of the hour's service which, more than any other, produced what, to borrow a phrase, we might call *digestive assimilation.* It would secure this, its beneficial effect, in moulding the spirits of the people, by its iteration, by its emphatic style, and by aid of the pleasurable excitements of music." pp. 91 – 93.

Fletcher of Madeley deserves mention as one of the most conspicuous luminaries of Wesleyan Methodism. He combined two seemingly inconsistent personalities, having been, in one aspect, a narrow-minded, hair-splitting controversialist, and in another, a man of the most tender sensibilities, the most fervent piety Godward, and the most genial charity manward. He was the chief champion of the Wesleyan or Arminian portion of the Methodists, after the doctrinal schism in 1771, between the Conference and the Calvinistic party under the auspices of Lady Huntingdon. In this capacity he was verbose, repetitious, and pointless, compensating by the crassitude of his walls of defence for the bluntness of his aggressive weapons. As a Christian man, he stood in the direct line of spiritual descent from St. John; and, while the dust of half a century must rest on the most recently read

copy of his "Checks to Antinomianism," the memory of his apostolic meekness, humility, and love is still fresh and fragrant, as when he was first translated from the sphere of his earthly labors.

In this connection, we must not forget Dr. Coke, the first superintendent or Bishop of the Methodist Church in this country. A man of family and fortune, he made an unreserved surrender of himself to the work of a Christian missionary, in behalf of a despised body of schismatics. He encountered the perils of unexplored forests and savage men in the New World, and penetrated, with his reconciling message, numerous new settlements where public worship had never been celebrated before. He frequently chose a central spot in the depths of some wilderness region, and collected the inhabitants of a wide circuit for religious exercises. On such occasions, the novelty of the scene and the magnificent features of a primeval forest enhanced the impression wrought by the preacher's eloquence, and multitudes were often led to the simultaneous expression of penitence, faith, and religious ecstasy. These instances of marked success gave rise to the permanent institution of camp-meetings, which, with their frequent extravagance and disorder, have undoubtedly been the means of benefit immeasurably overbalancing their incidental evils, especially in these newly occupied regions too sparsely settled for the regular establishment of churches or ministers. Dr. Coke's American mission was the occasion of the first Methodist Episcopal ordination. Wesley had previously declined the exercise of Episcopal functions, on the ground that British soil was canonically occupied by Bishops of apostolic descent. But in America, there was no Protestant bishop; and on this fact Wesley based the right of consecrating Dr. Coke by the imposition of hands, under the title of superintendent, but with the power of admitting approved licentiates to holy orders. Dr. Coke consecrated Asbury as Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America; and from their joint acts are derived the present constitution of that Church and the alleged legitimacy of its office-bearers.

During Wesley's lifetime, his institution assumed none of the prerogatives of a separate Church on British

soil. The Wesleys, Fletcher, Coke, and very many of their associates, continued through life undeposed ministers of the English Church, and conformed to the rites of that Church at all canonical places and hours. The design was not to supersede or interfere with the regular celebration of the Established worship and its ordinances, but simply to supply with the means of religious influence such portions of the population as found no provision for their spiritual wants under the Establishment, and to furnish additional opportunities for religious instruction to such as derived less than they craved from the regular clergy. Wesley therefore exhorted his adherents to remain diligent attendants and constant communicants at the parish churches. His preaching hours, and those sanctioned by the Conference under him, were on secular days, or before and after the stated Sabbath services. He was at first strongly opposed to lay preaching, and yielded only to the necessities of the case, growing out of the impossibility of occupying the vast and increasing field of labor by the subjects of Episcopal ordination, and the multitude of persons endowed with the capacity of public exhortation, who both were ready to offer themselves for the work, and were desired as teachers by their brethren. From the appointment of preachers of this class grew the need of the itinerant system. It was impossible for men of slender education, without the habit of reading, study, or mental discipline, to sustain a continuous interest in their ministrations. They would of necessity have exhausted their resources in a few months, and wearisome self-repetition would have been the only alternative. Wesley therefore wisely ordained that they should not repeat themselves in the same place; but that, before their ministry could grow stale and unprofitable, they should enter on fresh fields of labor, and thus should sustain among their hearers the zest of novelty, while they themselves might receive from new scenes and associations the stimulus which could not be derived from the inception of new or the expansion of old ideas.

All the chapels, preachers' houses, and funded property belonging to the Connection remained vested in Wesley's name until his death, when, by a Deed of Declaration

previously executed, they passed under the control of the General Conference. By this deed, a perpetual hierarchy was established; for itinerant preachers alone were eligible to the Conference. This arrangement undoubtedly grew out of the limitation of Wesley's original purpose. He never contemplated the gathering of a body of laity capable of self-government. The evangelizing of the neglected and unprivileged was his exclusive aim. His institution was eleemosynary in its design, and as such was put under the government of the very trustees, on whose zeal and fidelity the strongest reliance could be placed. It was a home-missionary society; and in that aspect, it was more appropriate that it should be managed by the agents than by the objects of its charities.

These features have given at once the direction and the limit to the influence of Methodism in England. Had Wesley been a voluntary schismatic, he might have threatened even the permanence of the Establishment. He had the strong sympathy of the more devout among its office-bearers, and the clergy who became his coöperators were ready to follow his leading as separatists from the parent fold. The sanctity of apostolic succession was held very vaguely and loosely even by the High Church party, and was openly impugned by many of the ablest and most religious members of the Establishment. In the formation of a distinct and independent religious body, the masses of the people in many districts would have joined his standard. But by the position to which he resolutely adhered, he exerted a much more potent influence upon the Church than beyond its pale. He infused into its ministrations a vitality unknown before. It is to Methodism mainly that the present Evangelical party in the Church is indebted for its origin; and to the sense of divine realities, thus reawakened and diffused, is it owing that High Churchmanship is not now a proud negation, but an earnest formalism, instinct with its own quaint type of spiritual life, and embodying, in its mediæval garb, intense devotion and fervent propagandism.

In this country, Methodism planted itself on soil not otherwise preoccupied, and in its present condition it presents a bundle of strange anomalies. Its written constitution corresponds closely to that of the parent Society,

while their respective positions and environments have hardly a single point in common. The Methodist Church in the United States is a Church in all its parts and appointments; — that is, it administers all the ordinances of religion, recognizes children and entire families as under its guardianship, and, in the older portions of the country, aims not at aggression upon the ranks of the unprivileged, so much as at the permanent edification of those within its own inclosure. Yet in the *high pressure* movement of its machinery, in the closeness of its mutual *espionage*, in the weekly confessional of the class-meeting, and in the prominent place assigned to the discipline and probation of new converts, it seems constantly to presuppose either a peculiar urgency of spiritual destitution and need, or a transition period of religious excitement, alarm, and frequent conversion. Then, too, it seems, at first thought, surpassingly strange that Methodism should take deep root among republicans, always jealous of their rights. Yet not only is this more numerous than any other single sect in our republic; but it is an undoubted fact that a majority of its adherents have belonged to the ultra democratic party. How is it that they submit with so good a grace to an absolute sacerdotal oligarchy, which leaves them neither representation in the councils, nor disposing power over the property of their church? Itinerancy is also becoming an anomaly. Methodist ministers are expected to be diligent pastors as well as zealous preachers; and a greater amount of domiciliary visitation is demanded of them than of any other clergy whatever. Yet they are hardly permitted to form that acquaintance with their congregations, which is the one essential condition of their private usefulness, when they are compelled to renew their explorations among unfamiliar faces. Among the offices which a man can hold, that of the Christian pastor is in its genius the least nomadic of all. Yet more, the Methodists have now their Universities, and their highly-educated ministers, — men with substantial libraries and settled domestic habitudes, — men who have the foundation laid for sure growth in mental resources and professional eminence. And to such men, the system of itinerancy, so congenial to a hot head, a zealous heart, and a fallow mind, must be a most grievous necessity,

and will soon be regarded as intolerable. Preachers of this class will soon find it their duty and interest to leave the itinerant connection, and to *localize*, as their phrase is; and they will thus fall out of all places of official trust, and leave the administration of affairs to those whose ignorance and vagrant habits may render a frequent change of residence desirable. A similar improvement has taken place in the condition of Methodist congregations. If the entire country be taken into the account, this denomination has its full proportion of the intelligence, learning, rank, and property of the nation. It has numbered among its members the very highest functionaries in every department of the public administration. Is it not strange that such men will remain without the slighest control over their church property, and without a voice in the selection of their spiritual teachers and overseers? These difficulties have already been recognized and felt very extensively; and there are now comprehended under the general name of Methodists many independent congregations, and several large bodies of seceders, in which the laity exercise the same rights and functions as in other denominations. This process of disintegration must needs go on with increased rapidity; and the Wesleyan form of Methodism must have passed its culminating point, and will soon be visibly on the decline. The integrity of the denomination in this country can be preserved only by such modifications of its constitution, as shall permit the permanent settlement of its ministers, and cede to individual congregations the control of their property and the choice of their pastors.

The work before us is a philosophico-religious inquiry into the relation of Methodism to the past, the present, and the future. In point of style and method, it takes precedence of the entire series of Taylor's publications. It manipulates facts with a firmer grasp and with more practical skill than has been his wont, and has little of the element of vague hypothesis and dreamy theorizing which has often rendered his lucubrations more attractive than reliable. It contemplates Methodism not as an abstraction of imaginary potency, but as an actual working force in the religious world.

Our author traces a close analogy between the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth, and the Methodistic revival of the eighteenth, century. At the former epoch, religious faith was merged in ignorance and superstitious ritualism; at the latter, in indifference and infidelity. At the former, the Romish Church repressed all spiritual aspirations and tendencies by its unscrupulous exercise of authority; at the latter, the English Church maintained a costly apparatus of nominal Christianity, but failed to aid its members in the realization of Christian verities as subjects of personal experience and objects of personal reliance and hope. At the former, Luther and his coadjutors not only organized dissent and protest, but exerted a powerful reaction in purifying the morals and reawakening the religious zeal of the mother Church; at the latter, Wesley and his coadjutors effected much more for the Establishment than for the cause of separatism, and strengthened and consolidated the very hierarchy which they threatened to undermine. Viewed in this aspect, the primitive Methodists are to be regarded not as the founders of a sect, but as providential instruments for the reformation of Anglo-Saxon Christendom, — as the subjects of an unwontedly copious effusion of the holy spirit, — as the apostles of a new Pentecost of divine life and power.

After a chapter devoted to general considerations of this class, Taylor gives a detailed and discriminating sketch of "the Founders of Methodism." Then, under the title of "the Substance of Methodism," he attempts to analyze the elements of its success. The first was the awakening of the souls of men to a consciousness of their personal relation to the Almighty. The same religious truths had been preached dogmatically, sentimentally, æsthetically. The hearers had been convinced, but not impressed. Their sensibilities had been pleasurably excited; but their consciences had not been made active. Their tastes had been gratified; but the introspective faculty had not been set at work. Previous religious teaching had dealt mainly with the comprehensive aspects and relations of Christianity; Methodism shut up the individual soul to a heart-probing interview with the Author of its being. The contrast is happily drawn in the following extract.

"Taking an ordinary instance as sufficient for our purpose, let it be asked what it is that a Christian minister may believe that he sees before him on a Sunday? He may be sure that there is always much of the diffused and salutary influence of Christian doctrine within the compass of his stated congregation. With a few exceptions (probably) he addresses those who, whether in the way of a passive acquiescence, or as the result of reading and reflection, have come sincerely to accept Christianity as true: — they *do* 'unfeignedly believe the holy Gospel.' They *do* 'look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.' In this pulpit-prospect there is therefore a wide range for charitable hope, and ground enough on which the pastor's consolation may rest, that he has not altogether 'labored in vain.'

"Or to vary the instance, we can many of us recall the recollection of those over-crowding times when a preacher of unmatched power and grace — a perfect orator, used to fix every eye upon himself, through his hour of fluent and affluent sublimities. How did all faces gleam with an intensity of intellectual enjoyment, longing to vent itself in loud acclamations at every pause! And when that hour of fascination was over, what looks of gratulation were exchanged among friends from pew to pew! what shaking of hands, and how many smiles and nods passed to and fro, among the delighted people!

"But now all these pleasurable indications must be dismissed, for it is a Methodist of Wesley's, or of Whitefield's order that is in this same pulpit. As a preacher, he is not more sincere or right-minded than the last; and as an orator, he is far less highly gifted; he is not so accomplished a theologian, nor in any sense is he rather to be chosen than the other, as to his dispositions, or endowments, or as to his creed; but he is a Methodist, and his words sink into the hearts of those that hear. While he speaks, a suppressed anxiety rules the spirits of the crowd, and this feeling breaks forth into sighs, on every side: — the preacher's style is not, in itself, oratorically affecting, and yet many weep, and an expression, not to be simulated, of anguish and of dread, marks many faces. What is it then that has taken place? It is this, that a sense, deep seated in the structure of human nature, but which hitherto has slumbered, has suddenly woke up. There is a tumult in the soul, while a power irresistible is claiming its rights over both body and soul. Instead of that interchange of smiles which lately had pervaded the congregation, while the orator was doing his part, now every man feels himself, for the hour, alone in that crowd. Even the preacher is almost forgotten; for an immortal and guilty spirit has come into the presence of Eter-

nal Justice. Within the dismayed heart it is as if the moral condition, hitherto unheeded, were spread abroad for strictest scrutiny. Quite gone from the thoughts are all those accessories of religious feeling, which so often in times past, had been the source of agreeable devout excitement. It is a dread of the supreme rectitude that now holds the mind and heart." pp. 142, 143.

Methodism, in the second place, carried the individualizing process into every department of the spiritual life. Not only in its thunder-tones of alarm, but in its persuasive, pathetic appeals, it addressed, not multitudes, but every soul in the multitude. Its Savior was not the benefactor of the race, but the personal friend of the isolated sinner, bearing his name "engraven on the palms of his hands and on his heart," making atonement for him on Calvary, ever living to intercede for him, sure to have done and suffered all in his behalf, even had he been the only lost sheep to be borne back to the fold.

A third element in the success of Methodism was its proclamation of entire and immediate salvation as the result of an effort of the will, an unreserved self-surrender to the divine mercy. In one aspect, indeed, the formation of the religious character is gradual and slow. Only step by step, and by prolonged and reiterated self-discipline, can the distance between a selfish, worldly life and entire self-consecration be overpassed. Yet there must be an epoch of choice and resolution, — a moment when the soul, in the omnipotence of a God-strengthened will, says, "I am henceforth not my own, but Christ's." This epoch must be reached in order to render spiritual growth possible. The preaching, which dwells mainly on the necessity and means of improvement, will leave a large proportion of the better class of its hearers under the control of those moral influences which involve no power of progressive goodness, — respectably undevout and decently non-religious. The preaching, that shuts up its hearers to a day, a moment, of conversion, can hardly fail so to concentrate the forces of evangelical truth as to multiply converts; and, though it may multiply apostates also, there will be a large residuum of spiritual life too vivid, too earnest, not to abide, and grow, and culminate. Then, too, the idea of entire salvation, of full pardon, acts at once on every noble and generous element of

the soul, and makes obedience and purity the dictate of honor and gratitude to infinite mercy. The sentence, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," alone can give speed and power to the mandate, "Go, and sin no more."

But under all these conditions, Methodism owed its success mainly to its having been, in its inception, and at every stage of its progress, an enterprise of pure evangelical philanthropy. Its vital principle was diffusion, propagation. Its pervading spirit was the missionary spirit. Its apostles attested their sincerity by every possible form of self-sacrifice. They spoke that language of sacrifice, which alone can convey the assurance and accomplish the work of love; — the language which the mother perpetually utters to her child, the patriot to his country, the reformer to the objects of his benevolent interpositions, nay, which God in Christ uttered upon Calvary to the whole human race.

Taylor next considers "the Form of (Wesleyan) Methodism." "As a scheme of Evangelic Aggression," it has written its own history, and has annexed to the domains of Christianity entire communities and whole classes of men, which could have been reached by no other religious agency which the past or the present century has seen in operation. "As a scheme of Religious Discipline and Instruction toward the people," it is manifestly less perfect than a settled, learned, and studious ministry. Its pastoral offices must needs be less thorough, constant, and influential; and their deficiency can be supplied by the class-system only as regards the more ignorant members. But it has the merit of doing much in this direction, where nothing had been previously done. It may impart to a large proportion of its adherents knowledge and impulse fully adequate to their receptivity. It at least excites and sustains that spiritual activity without which there can be no progress, but with which the ordinary resources of the Scriptures and the inward life can hardly fail to generate increasing intelligence, fidelity, and excellence. "As a Hierarchy, or scheme of spiritual government," Wesleyanism should in all fairness be exempted from severe judgment; for its founder probably had no intention of forming an independent or permanent institution, and, as we have seen, the very arrangements,

which might give the greatest umbrage to detractors or opponents, were devised to meet the temporary stress of circumstances, — to subserve the success of an enterprise, not to buttress the walls of an Establishment. "As a Body Corporate, related to Civil Law and Equity," Wesleyan Methodism, in our author's view, was born with a rope about its neck. By the Deed of Declaration, its administration is prescribed with such minuteness of detail as to leave no room for expansion or modification in conformity with the spirit of the present or any subsequent age. The preachers are even bound in perpetuity to preach that doctrine, (and no other,) which is contained in the first four volumes of John Wesley's Sermons and in his Notes on the New Testament. This last condition alone is not only onerous and subversive of individual freedom; but is attended with peculiar difficulty in its discharge. Wesley, though endowed with what is commonly called a logical mind, and accustomed to lay great stress on verbal distinctions and definitions, lacked that comprehensive intellectual grasp, which embraces truth in its wholeness and unity, and presents it for contemplation in its relations and harmonies. System he had none; but he held together, not in fusion, but by mechanical compression, such portions of unlike systems, as seemed to him verified in his own experience, or adapted to strike the heaviest blow upon the stubborn consciences of the impenitent. A Calvinist in his passive affinities, an Arminian in his theory of man's active powers, so far from approximating or indicating the meeting point or the relative provinces of divine and human agency, he wrote in his study as if man were a mere puppet of superior power, and preached on the common as if the human will were in its own right omnipotent. We have expressed our belief that, in this country, Methodism must be essentially changed in its constitution, in order to survive in unimpaired vigor. This process can be easily effected here; for the General Conference possesses the unrestricted right of amendment and abrogation. In England, however, the Conference exists by Wesley's own charter, as a body of Trustees under his will; and how far the spirit of the English law may suffer the modifying of the conditions of a trust, with a view

to the surer attainment of its purposes, our author hazards no conjecture, and it would be rash for us to express an opinion in his silence.

The work under review closes with a chapter entitled "Methodism of the Future," — an instructive and eloquent chapter, yet connected only by remote analogy with the subject of the book. The author discerns, in the present condition of Protestant Christendom, symptoms and omens of fearful declension from the purity of faith and the simplicity of worship; and, as a believer in the regenerating efficacy and the ultimate supremacy of the gospel, he looks for a new Reformation, identical in its localities, and analogous in its processes, with those of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Pantheism and Ritualism he rightly regards as the antagonist forces now most hostile to spiritual Christianity. Pantheism is the legitimate result of Rationalistic speculation. It is only in miracle, prophecy, and revelation, that, to human view, the Almighty detaches himself from his works, comes from behind the concealing curtain of general laws, shows himself as an independent and controlling force apart from the system which he creates and sustains. We doubt whether, independently of Judaism or Christianity, pure and spiritual monotheism has been reached and maintained in a single instance; for the highest conception of classic and oriental philosophy has been that of a God identical and commensurate with the universe. Modern English and American Deists constitute no exception to this statement; for they have generally been trained in the belief of miracle and revelation, and have retained the personality of God from the faith of their childhood. Germany, on the other hand, has given her sons no such training; and on her soil, every departure from belief in historical Christianity merges itself in Pantheism.

Ritualism derives its present hold upon the mind of Christendom, as we believe, for the intensely engrossing claims of material interests. It is harder now than ever to be a Christian in heart and in life. The outward world occupies, crowds, storms every avenue to the soul. The concerns of entire humanity are forced upon the cognizance of every reading, thinking, or busy man, and we might well apply to the *world* in its scriptural sense,

as antagonistic to the spiritual life, what Horace says of nature,

"Expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurret."

Meanwhile, men feel the necessity of worship, and have too much intelligence and good taste to worship stocks and stones. They therefore gratify the instinct of reverence by those more covert forms of idolatry, in which altars, paintings, priests attired like solemn harlequins, and singing women, receive and absorb the worship that should rise higher, and send the worshipper back with an unburdened conscience to the arena of pecuniary competition, the routine of fashionable dissipation, or the enjoyment of luxurious ease.

Under both these burdens Christendom now groans, and religion suffers increasing detriment. We agree with our author in his felt need of a new, more fervent, more effective dispensation of the gospel, — of a dispensation which shall have for its basis the simple, unperverted facts and truths of the Scriptures fairly interpreted, and shall build upon them the fabric of a worship, in which mind and heart, sense and soul, shall combine to offer the entire and living sacrifice.

ART. VII. — *Lectures on the History of France.* By the RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JAMES STEPHEN, K. C. B., LL. D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. New York: Harpers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 710.

BEFORE his appointment, as the successor of William Smyth, to the Professorship of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, Sir James Stephen was generally known as an author only by a series of remarkable contributions, on historical and religious topics, to the Edinburgh Review. These were collected and published in a separate volume about eight years ago. Without belonging to the highest class of critical productions in theology and history, they had striking merits both of

thought and expression, that justified the favor with which they were received. The style is rich and pictorial, betraying a careful study of Macaulay's manner, but inferior to it in ease, grace, and fluency. It is more grave and didactic, often swelling into a weighty and impressive eloquence, that proceeds rather from the deep feelings and strong convictions of the writer, than from rhetorical artifice. In this respect, indeed, his articles are favorably distinguished from Macaulay's, which, with all their brilliancy and richness of illustration, are often superficial and deficient in earnestness, having the sparkle and impetuosity of a mountain stream, but also its shallowness and want of sustained force. Sir James Stephen's writings show more heart; fervid religious persuasion, which might swell into fanaticism if it was not mastered by a vigorous intellect, pervades and colors his whole course of thought. Events and characters naturally present themselves to him under their religious aspect; sincere but not ostentatious piety, which often has a touch of gloom, betraying the severe school of theology to which he is attached, governs all his reflections and judgments. The expression of this belief is commonly subdued and chastened, as if he feared that the careless and frivolous world would not understand or sympathize with it; but it is betrayed in spite of himself, warming his manner with a kind of soft religious tenderness, which wins the reader's affection at the same time that it commands his respect. Nothing can be less obtrusive or ostentatious, and nothing more pervading or heartfelt. It is almost the only kind of religious writing, belonging to our own day, in which we cannot even suspect the presence of hypocrisy. His articles on the Clapham Sect, and on the writings of Isaac Taylor, "the Recluse of Stamford Rivers," as he calls him, are genial and winning portraitures, which owe their attractiveness probably as much to the pencil of the artist, as to the original features which he has endeavored to copy.

These Lectures on the History of France are, in every respect, deserving of the reputation of their author. They are the rich fruits of his first two years in office, as he was appointed only in the summer of 1849; and their early publication manifests a generous disregard of the additional labor thus imposed upon the Professor, who,

having given these to the press, and thus placed them in the hands of his future auditors, must immediately prepare others to be read in the lecture-room. His predecessor, Mr. Smyth, had been over thirty years in office before he published a single lecture; and when, not long before resigning his Professorship, he did give to the printer the manuscripts which he had so often read to a small circle of undergraduates, it was evident, even from a hasty perusal of them, that they had been written more than a quarter of a century. As they abounded in errors of the press, mistaken references, and incorrect citations, it was certain that they had had little revision, and probable that portions of the manuscript had become nearly illegible.

But it was not our purpose to complain of Mr. Smyth's Lectures, which, though somewhat stale at the time of publication, are yet entertaining and instructive. They mark out a judicious plan of historical study, and contain ingenious and just comments on the authors that are recommended for perusal and reference, and on the characters and events to which incidental allusion is made. The lecturer did not propose to write history, but only to give some hints about the proper method of studying it. He pointed out the path, but did not accompany the traveller on his way. Sir James Stephen offers more direct and effectual aid. He selected as a topic the history of France; and, finding that "a considerable portion" of those whom he was about to address had "no acquaintance with any modern language except their own, and that the most popular and elementary French works on the history of France were apparently unknown to a still greater number of them," he undertook to give them, in two courses of Lectures, a compend of this history, which might serve, after publication, merely "as a class or lecture-book for the use of the students." Disclaiming any attempt to be original or profound, he promised only to be simple, familiar, and elementary.

Yet he justly claims for his book a higher character than that of a mere compilation. The mode of grouping the details of the subject, and giving unity to the consideration of them, is entirely his own. So, also, we are bound to add, is the view which he takes of the incidents of French history, and of all history. It is eminently a Christian view;

the tone of the book, in this respect, is strikingly accordant with that of the author's former publication. He utterly discards and condemns the fatalist doctrine, with which the works of most of the recent French historians, especially of those who make much pretension to expound the philosophy of history, are imbued, and to which the writings of Carlyle and Grote have given some currency even in England. Of Michelet, he is unwilling to say any thing, because "unable to characterize his writings except in terms which might seem to fail in the respect due to a living author, who has long enjoyed much popularity." In our eloquent lecturer's view, the development of events on the great stage of the world is not a blind and inexorable succession of causes and effects, which might have been known beforehand, so that a perfect history could have been written *à priori*, if one had had a perfect knowledge of the attendant circumstances. It is rather a grand spectacle of the enforcement of those laws by which God governs the moral universe, which must be studied in the light of his revealed word, and with a belief in his constant, superintending providence, or we shall fail to perceive its meaning, and the whole will appear as a maze of purposeless incidents.

In a "Dedicatory Letter" to Dr. Whewell, the indefatigable Master of Trinity College, Sir James Stephen incidentally gives some hints about the past and present state of the University of Cambridge, with especial reference to the course of studies and the means of instruction. We have already quoted from this letter a plain statement of the attainments of those who were to form his audience in the lecture-room, which may serve to console those who are wont to lament the great inferiority of our American Colleges to the great English Universities. It is certain that he would not have found the older undergraduates, either at Yale or Harvard, so imperfectly qualified to receive his instructions. He bears honorable testimony, however, to the spirit of improvement, which, of late years, has so vigorously assailed many of the ancient abuses of the place, and has even caused it to be accused of a tendency to needless innovation. Our lecturer took leave of Cambridge as an undergraduate in 1812, remarking that the three or four years that he had

lived there "were passed in a very pleasant, though not a very cheap hotel. But if they had been passed at the Clarendon, in Bond street, I do not think that the exchange would have deprived me of any aids for intellectual discipline, or for acquiring literary or scientific knowledge." He returned after an interval of thirty-eight years, and found that a marvellous change had occurred. Innovations had taken place "which would have made the hair stand on end on those venerable wigs which were worn by the Heads of Houses in my time." New studies had been largely introduced, and some of them were occupying a foremost place in the system of instruction. Presiding over the whole movement, the high priest of innovation and reform, was the zealous Master of Trinity, of whom it has been said that "his *forte* is science, and his foible is omniscience," and who seemed determined to imbue the whole University with his own multifarious erudition.

The following remarks, of so judicious and competent an observer as Sir James Stephen, are pregnant with instruction for our American Colleges, in most of which an attempt is made to teach at least thrice as many distinct subjects as are comprised even in the new and extended *curriculum* for the University of Cambridge.

"In the contemplation of all these changes, my chief solicitude, of course, was to ascertain what were the particular duties which had devolved on myself. I found that I was not only expected, like my predecessors, to read public lectures on Modern History, but that I was also to conduct examinations on that subject, sometimes alone, and sometimes in concert with others — alone, in the case of pupils who, being unambitious of honorary distinctions, might seek merely to obtain from me a certificate of their acquaintance with some one or two particular historical books; in concert with others, in the case of candidates for rank and honor among the students of the moral sciences.

"I will not conceal from you that I regarded, and still regard, with some regret, my share in this apportionment of labor; not, indeed, that I consider it either as onerous or unequal, but that I am constrained to view it as of very doubtful utility.

"Within the compass of the 'moral sciences' embraced in these examinations are included Moral Philosophy, English Law, General Jurisprudence, Modern History, and Political Economy. Our honorary distinctions are to be awarded for proficiency, not

in any one of these pursuits alone, but in them all collectively. The candidates for such distinctions must, until within a month or two of their examination, have continued to prosecute those scientific, literary, and theological studies, in which the entire body of our pupils are engaged throughout the whole of their academical course. To myself, therefore, it seems simply impossible that they should really be conversant with even any one of the five moral sciences in question. A young man who, under such circumstances, should really be conversant with them all, might read the life of the admirable Crichton without incredulity and without despair.

"We shall, however, from year to year, propose questions on all of those subjects, and we shall, undoubtedly, receive many ingenious and specious answers to them. I, for one, shall read such answers with regret; for if there be any one habit of mind which I should especially desire to discourage in men entering into the business of life, it is the habit of substituting a shabby plausibility for sound knowledge; and how can we avoid promoting that disingenuous and pernicious practice, when we invite the aspirants to distinction among us to submit themselves to an examination in sciences which we have not allowed them time to investigate or to understand? For example, let any one who ever devoted himself to the study of the law of England say whether a few brief interstitial hours, stolen with difficulty from his indispensable academical pursuits, will enable a young man, in his twenty-first or twenty-second year, to know any thing worth the knowing of that boundless, and toilsome, and ever-shifting field of inquiry. Yet an adroit and dexterous man may, even under such circumstances, assume the deceptive semblance of such knowledge. I could, therefore, earnestly have wished that each candidate for distinction in the moral sciences had been permitted to choose some one such science to which alone his examination was to be confined, and had also been first discharged from his classical and mathematical labors during a period sufficiently long to enable him to pursue it below the mere surface." pp. vi.–viii.

But it is time to pass to the general contents of this volume; or rather, at first, to the ideas which it suggests as to the proper mode of studying history. It is one excellence of these Lectures, that the writer of them appears to have been conscious throughout, that his proper function was not to write history, but to teach it; though the necessities of his particular position, arising from the recent changes in the University, and from the very limited

knowledge which the undergraduates could be supposed to possess of the subject, obliged him to prepare, in the first place, a compend or text-book of instruction, which might serve as a basis for his subsequent lectures. He has succeeded in forming such a compend, without rendering it a mere sapless abridgment, or dry catalogue of facts strung together in chronological order, and, at the same time, without sacrificing detailed instruction to comprehensive statements and vague generalities. In other words, he has found a clew to French history, — a principle both of selection and arrangement, by the aid of which, events, characters, and inferences present themselves in due order for the elucidation of his main subject, and fall into natural groups around it without crowding or confusion. It is not certain that the leading idea which he has thus adopted, to give unity and method to his summary view of the annals of France, is the only true one for such a purpose, or even the best that could be discovered. It is enough that it does not rest upon a mere hypothesis or imaginary theory, so that facts must be suppressed, invented, or distorted to make room for it; and that it answers the purpose of bringing together the main features of the subject in natural order, and bearing an obvious relation to each other, so that their meaning can easily be perceived, and the details themselves be distinctly recollected. Until some clew of this sort is discovered, history is but an endless record of unmeaning facts, which burden the memory without profiting the understanding.

To an Englishman or an American who begins the study of the history of France, one of the first inquiries which suggests itself is, How it happened that the English and French nations, taking the same point of departure, living originally under similar institutions and influences, and imbued with an equal love of liberty, still arrived at very dissimilar results, — the one steadily and surely developing a system of constitutional freedom, in which the powers of the crown, the nobles, and the people mutually sustain and limit each other, and the other gradually losing all its ancient safeguards of liberty, and degenerating into the uncontrolled despotism, which was finally shattered by the explosion of 1789? The question, or the problem, is as old as the time of Voltaire, who first

stated it in general terms, affirming that the results in the two cases were "as unlike as the constitution of Venice is to that of Morocco." Sir James Stephen propounds it as the main object of his investigation, and keeps it constantly in view throughout his Lectures; as the inquiry is broad enough to bring up, in strict connection with it, every thing in the history of France which it was important for him to consider. It branches out into a number of subsidiary inquiries, among which are, — an investigation of the manner in which the French municipalities, or incorporated cities and towns, contributed to conduct France from the state of a Feudal Confederation to that of an absolute monarchy; how the Crusades to the Holy Land, and still more the Crusade against the Albigenses, contributed to produce the same result; why the authority of the privileged orders of France, sacerdotal and noble, did not avert the growth of the absolute dominion of the French monarchs; why the States-General, which, in theory, had as much authority as the English Parliament, were equally powerless for this end; why the Reformation did not yield in France its appropriate fruits of civil liberty; why the power of the pen, so favorable to free institutions elsewhere, here only served to consolidate despotism; and many others, which afford equal scope for that comparison of English with French history to which it was the object of the lecturer to direct the attention of his hearers.

It may be inferred, from this account, that the work is not such a detailed record of events, chiefly in chronological order, as usually passes under the name of civil history. It is rather a series of disquisitions on the constitutional history of France, as contrasted with that of England, giving incidentally, it is true, much information about the progress of events, but still more frequently sending the hearer or the reader to other books to obtain the knowledge which is either presupposed by the Lecturer, or is necessary to fill up the outline that he has sketched. One important branch of the subject, the Feudal System, is omitted altogether, because it is so fully discussed in the very accessible writings of Robertson, Hallam, and Guizot. The answers that are given to the several questions stated in these Lectures are not neces-

sarily the only ones, or even the best that may be framed. In this respect, the teacher of history has an easier task than the writer of it. The latter must propound some theory which shall link together the different portions of his theme, and solve all the problems which they suggest; on the correctness of his theory, the value and completeness of his work will depend. The former is only required to indicate the topics of research, and to place before the student the materials which will enable him to investigate them for himself. These Lectures, consequently, profess to give only an introduction to the history of France, and to form a basis upon which the subsequent instructions of the Lecturer may rest. The information that they afford respecting the complex details of the judicial and financial systems of the old French monarchy, and of the distinctions of rank and divisions of power which existed under it, together with the changes which the whole system successively underwent, is tolerably full and minute. In these particulars, the book is a valuable companion, or manual of reference, to aid one in the study of the original authorities. But the personal history of the several monarchs of France, and the domestic and foreign occurrences of each reign, are noticed only so far as they elucidate the progress of the constitution. The Lectures contain a history of the institutions of the country, rather than a biography of the people. The writer's aim is not to amuse, but to instruct. He passes a severe sentence upon the pictorial and fanciful manner of a fashionable school of modern historians, who have degraded their calling by making it subservient to the purposes of fiction. Formerly, romance was woven out of the shreds of history; now, history is pieced together out of fragments in gaudy colors, after the fashion of romance.

When Dr. Arnold began his lectures upon Modern History in the University of Oxford, he observed that the student's first difficulty on approaching the subject arises from the extreme voluminousness and complexity of the materials which are placed before him. He is at a loss where to begin, and learns, to his dismay, that the history of one nation covers so much ground, and branches out into so many inquiries, that he may spend a

lifetime in studying it, and still find not only that his knowledge of it is imperfect, but that, his information being not merely enlarged but corrected as he proceeds, a considerable portion of the labor of each year must be given to unlearning what he has learned the year before. A single visit to the alcoves of a good public library is enough to dishearten him, when he sees the formidable array of volumes relating to his theme. The Colonial History of New England and the war of American Independence are two comparatively restricted subjects, either one of which may yet severely tax the industry of many years, and leave the student, after all, still inquiring and eager to obtain more light. A fair knowledge of the vast system of the English Common Law, considered in its sources, its progress, and its present state, is but one of the requisites of a thorough acquaintance either with English or American history.

"What shall we say to the great collection of works directly subsidiary to history, such as Rymer's Fœdora, and the various collections of treaties; of bodies of laws, — the statutes at large, for example, for England only; of such works as the publications of the Record Commission, or as the Journals of the Houses of Parliament? Turning then to lighter works, which contain some of the most precious materials for history, we find the countless volumes of French Memoirs, magazines, newspapers, (it is enough to remind you of the set of the Moniteurs in the Bodleian,) correspondence of eminent men, printed or in manuscripts, (the library at Besançon contains sixty volumes of the Letters of Granvella, Charles the Fifth's great minister,) and lastly the swarm of miscellaneous pamphlets, which, in these later days, as we know, are numberless, and which, in the seventeenth and even in the sixteenth centuries, were more numerous than we sometimes are aware of. I might go on and extend my catalogue, till it far exceeded in length the Homeric catalogue of the ships; but I have mentioned quite enough for my purpose. We may well conceive that, amid this boundless wilderness of historical materials, the student may be oppressed with a sense of the hopelessness of all his efforts. Which way shall he choose among so many? What progress can he hope to make in a space so boundless?" Arnold's *Lectures*, Am. ed. p. 94.

We cannot commend Dr. Arnold's method of overcoming, or evading this difficulty. He advises the student to begin with the history of a particular country and period;

to read diligently one author, a contemporary if possible, for an outline of the subject; and then "to branch out," by reading every thing which will throw light upon his account, selecting those volumes and portions of volumes only which relate directly to the theme, and omitting or passing lightly over every thing else. This may be fragmentary or piecemeal reading; but he justly observes that it is not a superficial method of study, for it will train the student from the outset to habits of comparison and research, and keep the attention awake and the judgment active more effectually than can be done by plodding laboriously through many volumes from title-page to colophon. For instance, if the History of France in the middle of the fifteenth century be the subject, we should begin by reading thoroughly the memoirs of Philip de Comines, a contemporary writer, who "gives us the action and the mind of the actors at the same time, telling us not only what was done, but with what motives and in what spirit it was done." Having thus formed a skeleton of the subject, as it were, the dry bones may be clothed with flesh by gleaning from many authors all that will elucidate, verify, or enlarge the account given by this one. If a treaty be mentioned, for example, the original document may be hunted up in some of the great collections of European treaties, and the abridged account of it by the historian may be verified or corrected. Statutes, proclamations, and ordinances published at the time must be examined; the memoirs, speeches, and letters of distinguished men, who figured at the time, must be read; and even that portion of the contemporaneous literature which does not immediately relate to the history of events must be consulted, as it will all throw light upon the character of the age, and assist us in the judgment that we may form of occurrences and individuals. By thus dipping into many books, more complete and accurate knowledge will be acquired, than by making a thorough study of a few.

Now, this method may be very well as far as it goes. But it does not obviate the whole difficulty; it rather perplexes one by affording a more lively sense of its extent and importance. He who begins the study of history in this manner will not be likely to advance far; he may

not even go beyond the history of France in the middle of the fifteenth century. If he be not an indefatigable student, with much leisure at command, he will find enough in the annals of this period, thus studied, to occupy the better portion of his life. Besides, the chief point of the difficulty is here lost sight of; for why select this particular time and country, rather than any other? And on what principle can any other be preferred? Where the student should begin is a question that Dr. Arnold leaves unanswered; and let him begin where he may, a plan of study is placed before him which will leave him little or no power to advance.

Perhaps we shall have a better chance of solving the problem satisfactorily, if we first consider what are the uses of history, and with what purposes it ought to be studied. A mere record of names, dates, and events is not history; and nothing can be more barren and unprofitable than a perfect recollection of such a record. That Cæsar conquered Pompey at Pharsalia, that he was afterwards assassinated in the Senate-house, that the party which profited by his death was subsequently crushed at Philippi by Octavius, who soon assumed the chief power in the state, and became the first Roman emperor, under the title of Augustus, — are facts which it may be convenient to remember, on account of the frequent allusions to them in Roman and modern literature; but which, in themselves considered, or taken thus nakedly, are as meaningless, and profitless to remember, as the birth, marriage, and death of some obscure Englishman, half a century ago, which are chronicled only in a village newspaper. A very good selection and arrangement of such facts may be found in any good compend of history for the use of schools; and a fair knowledge of such a compend is a sort of prerequisite for the study of history properly so called, and an indispensable element of a good common education. The value of such an outline of facts consists, not chiefly, but solely, in the explanation that it affords of the allusions, citations, and references with which all literature abounds. It is not, therefore, any more an introduction to the study of history than to the study of literature; it is just as essential to enable the pupil to read Shakspeare and Milton under-

standingly, as to open for him the pages of Gibbon, Robertson, and Hallam. A superficial knowledge of the facts is all that is essential for either of these purposes. If more minute information at any time is found necessary, the cause which renders it necessary also indicates at once the kind and the manner of reading which will supply the defect. Just as soon as we find a definite purpose or object for the study of a particular portion of history, we cease to be perplexed by the extent and voluminousness of history in general. We find a clew to the labyrinth precisely when we want one; for the want itself constitutes the clew.

Dr. Arnold and others, who have proposed a plan for the study of history, or have attempted to lay out a course of historical reading, have made the great mistake of supposing that a full knowledge of the facts is the only point to be gained, and that it can be gained only by laboriously completing and filling up, step by step, the outline that is afforded by one's school-boy studies. To this plan we object, first, that the execution of it would be an endless, and, secondly, that it would be a profitless undertaking. It would be endless, for, if one could live to the age of Methuselah, and study during as many hours every day as a German professor, he could not "fill up" the history of all countries, for four thousand years, in the way in which Dr. Arnold proposes he should "fill up" the history of France in the middle of the fifteenth century. It would be profitless, for a mere recollection of names, dates, and events can subserve no other good end than that of explaining the common historical allusions which we read or hear every day; and these are sufficiently explained by Worcester's "Elements," or any other school compend. There was as much shrewdness as pertness in the remark of a little girl, who said she was afraid to ask who Nimrod was, for fear her teacher would tell her; *and it would be so useless to know.* Surely there must be a higher purpose for the study of history than the mere gratification of curiosity. It is useless to know any fact, if it does not illustrate some truth, remove some difficulty, or teach some lesson. It may be said, indeed, that every page in history, when we have duly pondered it, will be found to teach some useful lesson. Very true; then the

value of that page consists in the lesson which, after due meditation, it suggests; and not in the barren record of facts which it contains. As the number of pages is countless, we must be guided in the selection of them by the particular lesson that we wish to learn.

Pure history resembles pure mathematics in one respect; it is not so much a science in itself, as a means and a help for the study of other sciences. In its application consists its whole value. It is a record of the experience of mankind; and the experience of the race, just like the experience of an individual, is of little worth, except so far as it throws a light upon the future. The share which every nation claims of the historian's page is proportioned, not to its numbers, or its wealth, or the magnitude of its territory, but to the scope and richness of its experience, and to the applicability of the lessons derived from that experience to the circumstances of later times. Why is the history of Greece, for a few centuries before the Christian era, still a subject of eager study by the statesmen and philosophers of our own day? while the annals of savage tribes, far more numerous than the Greeks, occupying vastly a larger portion of the earth's surface, and preserving their national characteristics and separate existence for a longer period, are now irretrievably lost because no one ever cared to preserve them. Evidently because, from their improved civilization, active minds, wandering habits, and versatile character, the experience of the Greeks was richer, and more profitable to teach the lessons which it behooves us, in modern times, to learn. Why, also, is the student always advised to study modern history first, before that of ancient times? and the history of his own country and race, before that of other nations? It is because the lessons derived from the latest experience, other things being equal, are most likely to be applicable to the circumstances of our own day; and because the nearest parallel to our own particular circumstances is to be found in the antecedent history of our own people, rather than in that of another race and clime. We refer here, chiefly, to political experience, because it is generally supposed that the legislator and the statesman, more than any other class of men, find history full of meaning and instruction to them in their peculiar calling.

It may be so, as history is generally written; for it is mostly a record of the political revolutions of states. But taken in its broadest sense, history is full of instruction to all men, because it is a record of the whole varied experience of mankind. Hence it is to be studied in that broad and discursive manner which Dr. Arnold so strongly recommends; — not only in what bears its form and name, but in the original authorities; — in the records of legislation and commerce; in letters and contemporary memoirs; in medals, architectural remains, and other antiquities; in the whole range of art, literature, religion, and law. The formal historian is but a compiler and the maker of an abridgment; the thorough student must accept him only as a guide to the original sources of information.

With this view of the nature and uses of history, there can be no doubt as to the point where the study of it is to begin, or as to the principle which is to guide and limit our researches. The student must commence with an object in view, or an end to be obtained. He must have a question to be answered, a doubt to be settled, or a problem to be solved. In other words, he must have something to study history for, — some use to which his acquisitions may immediately be applied. Objectless reading is always desultory; and when the field for excursion is so vast, it is no wonder if he who starts without a purpose never finds himself at his journey's end, and soon becomes discouraged with wandering through a wilderness. The particular object or inquiry with which the student begins is a matter of very little importance. Of course, one which is best suited to his tastes, which is most interesting to him at the moment, or has been most recently suggested by his previous reflections and studies, will furnish the best immediate guide for his historical researches. He need not fear, whatever it may be, that it will lead him on a devious or eccentric path, or that his labor will throw no light on the object he has in view. If the question which occupies him relates to any thing out of the limit of the exact sciences, — if the rich experience of all mankind under any circumstances can tend to elucidate it, he may be sure that the scroll which contains the record of that experience contains something also which will tend

to remove his doubts or afford an answer to his inquiries. We say that it will "tend" to do so; a complete answer may not be attainable — may not even be desirable. But while in search of it, he will be enlarging his knowledge of history, which we suppose to be his original intention. He will be forming habits of research, comparison, and judgment; he will be reading with an active and intent mind, and not with an idle and gaping one, through which information passes like water through a sieve. He will not be driven to a perusal of the latest school of pictorial and imaginative historians, for want of interest in the study of any other. Above all, he will not be in want of a teacher to tell him where to begin or where to stop; or be in danger of giving up the attempt to grasp any portion of the subject, because he sees plainly that he cannot master the whole.

We will try to indicate a few of the questions, or problems, which may thus serve as guides and incitements to the study of history, selecting those which are most general in their scope, and therefore most likely to lead off the student upon the widest range of investigation. More definite and limited inquiries will readily suggest themselves to those who choose to confine their efforts to a narrower field.

A question has been raised as to the origin and nature of civilization, which is interesting both in its philosophical and religious aspect. Archbishop Whateley maintains with much plausibility, that civilization cannot be of human origin, for there is no instance on record of a nation which has risen from barbarism by its own efforts. The torch of learning and refinement has been passed from hand to hand, each nation receiving from others the light which it was powerless to kindle. Trace the progress as far back as we may, we shall come to some race whose civilization is an inexplicable fact, except upon the hypothesis that it was immediately imparted to them from above. It is strongly urged, also, that a rich, flexible, and fully developed language is an indispensable prerequisite for any progress, not only in literature, but in the various arts of life, the mind not being capable of any application of its highest powers except through the use of this great medium of thought. But if civilization

could not have commenced except by the aid of such a language, for a still stronger reason such a language could not have been invented or perfected except by a highly civilized people. If this be so, we have, alike in the origin of language and the origin of civilization, an ineffaceable record of a great primeval revelation to mankind, which had incontestably a moral and intellectual purpose. But this theory will not find ready acceptance, for it overthrows the whole fabric of the many ingenious speculations that have been framed, not only to account for the origin of language, refinement, and the arts of life, but to trace their progress, step by step, up from the rudest beginning.

Whatever force there may be in the *à priori* considerations relating to this matter, it is obvious that the question can be settled only by an appeal to history; and it involves a very extended inquiry into the origin and character of Egyptian, Jewish, Grecian, and Roman civilization, including an estimate of the degree of each, of the importance of the sources to which each may be attributed, and of the causes which may be assigned for its decay and ruin. In considering the manner in which different nations successively became preëminent in the arts and in mental culture, causes must be sought for the constant tendency of civilization to move westward; and the subsidiary question arises, how much geographical position and climate have to do with the intellectual progress of a people. The vast influence of various systems of religious belief, considered as means of hastening or retarding the growth of civilization, is to be studied by the light of history, as well as by reasoning upon the principles of human nature. Coming down to modern times, the circumstances which attended the Revival of Letters are to be carefully examined; and Guizot's admirable works on the progress of civilization in Europe will light the path of the inquirer, not only by what is directly told in them, but by the additional questions that they suggest, and by the sources of information that they indicate. It is obvious that the main topic of investigation will carry the student, if he sees fit, over nearly the whole ground of ancient and modern history, keeping constantly before him an object of research, and thus furnishing a prin-

ciple of selection which will not only save him from the embarrassment which might otherwise arise from the copiousness of the materials, but will arrange the acquired knowledge in his mind so that it will be most firmly retained and easily recalled for future use.

Another curious subject of inquiry, which may serve as a thread to one's historical researches, relates to those inherited qualities of race, upon which so much light has recently been thrown by the sciences of ethnology and comparative philology, and which have strongly affected the course of political events on the continent of Europe in our own day. The minor question, whether pure or mixed races have shown the more vigorous character, and wielded the mightier influence on the world's affairs, is in itself a broad and attractive subject of investigation. The Jews afford the most striking example of an unmixed race, preserving their national characteristics unimpaired through a long succession of centuries, in the largest number of localities, and under the greatest variety of circumstances. With these may be contrasted the Romans and the English, in whom the great admixture of blood may be regarded as a cause or a consequence of the migratory, enterprising, and conquering spirit, which added so many countries to their dominion. But the question relating to pure or mixed blood is but one branch of the great ethnological problem, which may lead the inquirer into a review of all history. It may fairly be objected to most historical works, including those of the highest reputation both in ancient and modern times, that they have regard rather to geographical and political, than to ethnological divisions; that they contain too much of the history of nations, and too little of that of nationalities; that they are too much a history of governments, and too little a history of the people. The instinct of race is strong, and sometimes establishes fraternal relations between those who are widely separated in space, and cut off from each other by the greatest dissimilarity in their respective governments. It has become a powerful weapon in the hands of modern political agitators, — often bruising, it is true, the hands which wield it incautiously, but always showing, by the magnitude of its effects, that it is a vigorous and ineradicable principle in

human nature. During the commotions of 1848, it gave birth to most of the disputes which menaced, for a time, the peace of Europe; and though reduced to sullen quiescence now, if another great revolutionary outbreak should occur, we may expect to see it governing the movement and directing the storm. Already these forebodings seem to have given a direction to historical inquiries, on which they reflect light and interest.

Another guide and motive for historical investigations has already been followed with so much success, that the results even now constitute a distinct department of the science, and, as such, have been embodied in distinct treatises. Besides the proper history of individuals and of nations, we have now the history of institutions, whether political, social, economical, religious, or traditional; — if that epithet, for want of a better, may be applied to designate such manners and customs as cannot properly be ranked under either of the foregoing heads. To trace out the origin, character, and effects of any one branch or division of them, as illustrated by the history of the nations which have lived under them, would be a broad and profitable inquiry. True, the immediate result of the inquiry in either case would be, not so much the acquisition of a greater or less amount of historical knowledge, as the formation of an opinion or a theory in that branch of speculative or political philosophy which is directly concerned with the character and effects of such institutions. But this amounts only to saying that the knowledge would be applied to a useful purpose as fast as it was acquired, and not that it would be less real or thorough. The means are nominally considered inferior in dignity and importance to the end which they are made to subserve; but the end may be a distant, even an unattainable one, while the use of the means is immediately and constantly productive of good. Hunting is not the only amusement in which the pleasurable excitement of the pursuit far exceeds the value of the game. Practically, we believe, no one ever studies history to much purpose, or acquires any extensive knowledge of it, who has not such an ulterior end in view, — some object to be obtained beyond that of merely making himself acquainted with history. The science itself, as we have already

said, is properly a means or *organon* for the pursuit of other sciences.

Mr. Hallam, in his Constitutional History of England, and Sir James Stephen, in the Lectures before us, have restricted their attention to the political institutions of the two countries, and thus have gained unity, method, and completeness for their researches, without extending their results beyond all reasonable compass. Their works, though of moderate length, are not mere compends of a story which is fully told elsewhere. In one sense, they cover the whole ground, as nothing is designedly omitted which tends to illustrate the subject. In another point of view, much is left for those who may undertake to glean after them; as the topic is one of greater or less extent, according as the word "Constitution" is used with a broad or restricted meaning. In this country, it is usually applied to a single written instrument, formally adopted at a very recent period, and the history of which, consequently, may be very briefly written. Still, these paper Constitutions, as they are termed, are only new drafts and formal reënactments of provisions of law which have long been in force, the origin of some of them being traceable as far back as the Anglo-Saxon Octarchy. And they actually prescribe but a small portion of the fundamental law under which we live, the remainder of it being held to be sufficiently established by long usage and popular affection. In England, and in France down to the Revolution of 1789, the word has a far more comprehensive signification "By the word Constitution," says Lord Bolingbroke, "we mean, whenever we speak with propriety and exactness, the assemblage of laws, institutions, and customs, derived from certain fixed principles of reason, directed to certain fixed objects of public good, that compose the general system by which the community hath agreed to be governed." Sir James Stephen assumes the accuracy of this definition, and infers from it "that we must seek the Constitution of any commonwealth, and therefore of our own, not in the organic structure of its government, but in the living spirit by which it is habitually animated; not in a rigid analysis of the rights and the functions of the various orders of the citizens, so much as the primæval tendencies, the cherished

habits, and the venerated maxims by which the national polity has been moulded and directed." It is in conformity with this view, that he has resolved his whole subject into an answer to the single question, which, as we have stated, forms the basis of his inquiry.

If we go back to the very commencement of this theme, we meet with a problem which is extensive and difficult enough to constitute, in itself, an inducement and a direction to a very wide course of historical reading. We refer to the question respecting the origin of government. One fact is admitted on all hands; — that every person owes allegiance to the government under which he is born, and whose yoke he cannot shake off at his own will and pleasure. Let him place the duty of natural allegiance as low as he may, it is not for him to determine whether there shall be a government or not; that question is settled for him. And the obligations incurred, from the mere fact of his birth in a given country, are by no means inconsiderable. His actions are restrained or guided by laws which go beyond the natural requisitions of morals, (as in the case of the revenue laws,) forbidding certain things which are not forbidden by the law of nature, and enjoining others, such as the payment of taxes, which are not required by that law. True, government yields him protection, and the tax paid is the price of that protection. But it is not for him to say whether he will purchase this commodity or not, or whether the price paid is a fair one. These questions are never asked of him, as an individual, even under the most popular government that was ever constituted. He is required — he is forced — to accept the protection, whether he will or no; and to pay the price demanded, though he may think it an exorbitant one. He cannot easily change his allegiance; England asserts that he cannot change it at all. According to her doctrine, if he emigrates, and, under a government of his own selection, bears arms against that under which he was born, he is liable, if captured, to the punishment of death as a traitor. And other governments, though they do not push the principle as far as England does, still require certain formalities of naturalization to be observed, and some time to elapse, before they will admit the original tie to be dissolved.

How comes it that any such obligation, — which seems directly to contradict our fundamental republican maxim, that all men are born free, — is imposed by the mere fact of birth in one locality or another? We may look at this question historically, and ascertain from books and other historical records, how government was first actually constituted; or we may look at it in a political or moral point of view, and inquire why the government, however or whenever constituted, ought to be continued. In the former case, with which alone we are concerned at present, three different causes have been assigned for the origin of the framework of society; — military power, patriarchal authority, and mutual consent. A very wide induction of facts, dependent on much historical research, is necessary to determine which of these causes is the proper or predominant one; and with this problem in view, the inquiry into the primitive conditions of society, which is usually a dry and obscure one, acquires fresh interest and dignity.

We need not carry the enumeration of such questions any farther. There is evidently no lack of them, suited to every variety of taste; and under the guidance which any one of them affords, the student of history ceases to be perplexed and appalled by the extent and voluminousness of the materials which are spread before him. These Lectures on the History of France, coming from one whose profession it is to teach history, have naturally suggested our remarks, as they contain a successful application of the system here recommended, though they do not indicate the whole extent of the difficulty, or point out, as we have endeavored to do, the method by which it may always be avoided or overcome.

We have not space left to consider at length the explanation which Sir James Stephen gives us of the great contrast presented by the history of the English and French monarchies. The correctness of his theory must be tested by a full examination of the evidence adduced in its support; and for that the reader must be referred to the volume itself, as no abstract can do it justice. It must not be inferred, from the terms in which his leading question is propounded, that the Lecturer is animated by an excess of national feeling or prejudice. On the contrary,

no quality is more conspicuous in the work than the scrupulous and philosophical impartiality with which it is written. We close this imperfect notice of it by extracting a single passage, as a specimen of the judicial fairness with which he has examined the whole history of a country that has been for centuries the greatest rival of England both in arts and arms. While speaking of the confusion and distress into which the government of France was thrown by internal causes, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, he remarks as follows.

"The battle of Agincourt was fought in the midst of these tumults. It is impossible, and perhaps, if possible, it might not be desirable, to repress the exultation with which we dwell on that marvellous victory; yet neither is it desirable to conceal from ourselves the fact that our heroic ancestors triumphed over a disunited people — over an undisciplined army — over generals at once unable to command and unwilling to obey — over princes of the blood who had debased themselves into mere demagogues — and over a king whom Providence had smitten with an incurable madness. To these causes, more than to his own capacity or valor, Henry was indebted both for that triumph and for his subsequent successes. . . . . That Shakspeare is not only the best, but the only tolerable, historian of the wars waged by the Roses against France and against each other, has passed from a sportive jest into almost a serious article of our received literary creed. At the risk of a seeming treason to the majesty of our great dramatist, and of a seeming insensibility to our national glories, I must avow my regret that he ever wrote those parts of his historical dramas (if his they really be) which celebrate the reigns of Henry V. and of his less famous, though far worthier son. The most exalted genius has really no privilege to propagate misconception and prejudices hostile to "peace on earth and good will among men." That "myriad-minded man" was not, after all, exalted so far above the common level of the human intellect, that, from those heights, he might teach his worshippers to call evil good, and to put darkness for light. The wars of Henry V. were among the greatest crimes which disgrace the annals of Christendom, as they drew down upon England, in her own civil wars, one of the most swift and fearful examples of providential retribution. Henry himself, though a lion-hearted captain, has no place among the great masters of the art of war. His comrades, who, under the names of Fluellen and the rest, have so long provoked our merriment, might have been exhibited with greater real, though with less dramatic truth, as barbarians who

employed the arts of civilization to convert the fair realm of France into an Aceldama, and who bequeathed to the most distant generations of Frenchmen a hatred of the English name which it is difficult to condemn, even when we most regret or censure the excesses to which it has occasionally given birth." pp. 289, 290, 291, 292.

Art. VIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Diplomacy of the Revolution, an Historical Study.* By William Henry Trescot. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 169.

The very modest pretensions of this little volume ought not to cause its substantial merits to be overlooked; it affords another illustration of the truth, that the real value of a book is often in the inverse ratio of its size. The author, a gentleman of South Carolina, having made, for his own gratification, a careful study of the diplomatic history of the American Revolution, depending exclusively upon the original accounts and records, and comparing them very critically with each other, has here given, in a very concise manner, the results of his investigations. The book contains only a summary of information, but it is a just and accurate one. It manifests no bias from preconceived opinion, and is not warped by any fondness for original and striking speculation. So far as it goes, for it pretends not to enter into details, it is a very safe guide. We have been particularly struck with the acuteness of the writer in analyzing the mass of diplomatic correspondence, and presenting in a few words the chief points of each negotiation, and the marked epochs in its progress, together with a sketch of the circumstances which assisted or retarded the efforts of the negotiators. The object of the work is not controversial; it is not the writer's purpose to assail or defend the reputation of any one of the American ministers to the European courts, or of the sovereigns with whom they endeavored to form treaties of alliance or commerce, or from whom they sought to obtain a recognition of our national independence. We think he shows great sagacity and perfect fairness in estimating their individual peculiarities, and the value of their respective services. Had we space remaining, we would gladly borrow his rapid and vigorous sketches of the different views with which Franklin, Adams, and Jay approached the final

negotiations for a treaty of peace with Great Britain, — differences created, in part, by diversity of original temperament, and in part by the peculiar circumstances under which they had recently been acting.

The work is divided into five chapters, the first of which is introductory in character, being devoted chiefly to a refutation of the common prejudice against diplomatic transactions, and to a glance at what may be called the diplomatic condition of Europe, at the time when the first American negotiators appeared there to treat for their country's independence. The second is occupied with a history of the treaty of alliance with France, which was signed in February, 1778. One fact, upon which Mr. Trescot comments in this chapter, will take many persons by surprise at the present day, though the thorough student of the history of our Revolution is prepared for it, and can explain its meaning. It is, that "in the whole course of the negotiation which preceded and accompanied the treaty of 1778, the American government never asked, and the French government never offered, any peculiar sympathy for republican institutions." France only asked of the new government, if it was strong enough to execute its plans, and sufficiently stable to fulfil its promises. "The statesmen of the Revolution wanted no recognition of their republicanism; that was their affair. They asked only the acknowledgment of their Independence; that they felt to be the joint interest of themselves and the nations among whom they claimed a place." The third chapter contains a sketch of the diplomatic transactions with Spain, of the Armed Neutrality, and of the treaty with Holland. The negotiations for peace with England form the subject of the fourth chapter; and the concluding one is given to a review of the principles which formed the basis of American diplomacy during the Revolutionary period, and of the consequences to the Old World which resulted from the advocacy and final establishment of these principles.

The authorities upon which our author has chiefly relied, and which he has examined with great diligence and acuteness, are the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, the Secret Journals of Congress, the great work of Flassans on French Diplomacy, and the general history of Treaties of Peace, including the large collections made by Kock and Schoell, which is now in the course of publication by the Compte de Garden. He has also derived important aid from "the almost perfect and certainly invaluable" manuscript collection of documents relating to the diplomatic history of the Revolution, which was obtained by President Sparks during his researches in the archives of the French and British governments.

2. — 1. *A Selection of English Synonyms.* First American, from the Second London Edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 179.
   2. *Easy Lessons on Reasoning.* By Richard Whately, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Third American, from the Fifth London Edition. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 180.
   3. *Elements of Logic, comprising the Substance of the Article in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, with Additions, &c.* By Richard Whately, D. D. New Edition, revised by the Author. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 443.

This little work on English Synonyms has been edited by Dr. Whately. He professes to have revised it throughout, and says that, without "presuming to call it perfect," he is confident it is "very much the best that has appeared on the subject." This is certainly high praise, and we should be inclined to qualify it by adding, that it is the best 'as far as it goes.' It makes no pretensions to the merit of completeness; it is a contribution, a valuable, though a brief one, to the literature of the subject. The distinctions which the writer makes between synonymous words indicate great acuteness, and are admirably stated and illustrated. He has wisely adopted, in several instances, the labors of others, when it was not easy to improve them; and we wish he had borrowed more, and thus enlarged his work so much that it might be used as a manual of reference. Thus, he has taken from the posthumous writings of Sir James Mackintosh the very acute and elegant explanations of two groups of synonymous words, omitting two others that are equally good, and which are not explained at all in this little treatise.

The second work on our list wrongfully bears the name of Dr. Whately on its title-page. This is an interpolation of the American editor or publisher, the English edition having been published as anonymous, though the work has been generally attributed to this distinguished author, and he has never publicly disavowed it. To place his name upon its front, therefore, is a deception; as an unwary person might be induced to purchase it, without first examining the introduction by the American editor, in which the true state of the case is avowed. We hold that any alteration of an English work, when republished in this country, is criminal, if the reader be not warned in the title-page that such a change has been made, though it relate only to some insignificant point in orthography. This book needed no such

unworthy commendation of it to public notice, as it is capable of standing on its own merits; and it was evidently the writer's intention that it should so stand. It is an admirably clear and simple introduction to Dr. Whately's "Elements of Logic;" being designed, apparently, to facilitate the use of that work in academies and high schools. To those who have not leisure or inclination to contend with the abstruseness and other difficulties of the subject, as presented in the larger treatise, it affords a view of the science of reasoning which may be easily comprehended, and the faithful study of which will contribute much to the precision and clearness of the student's habits of thought.

Those who wish to become proficients in Logic cannot find more skilful and trustworthy guidance than in the last-mentioned work at the head of this notice. Its merits are now too widely known to require an enumeration of them. It has been adopted, by almost universal assent, in the higher seminaries both of England and this country. The present American edition of it is conformed to the ninth English edition, which was revised by the author, and which contains several improvements on the former issues, the arrangement of the parts being somewhat modified, and a brief but clear exposure being added of the untenable character of certain objections, which have long been made to the utility of the science, and to the general pretensions of the syllogistic theory. It has always seemed to us, that the characteristics of Dr. Whately's own mind and writings afford striking proof of the advantages to be derived from thorough study of the Aristotelian Logic. Without being naturally a very profound or original thinker, he is a vigorous reasoner, a formidable assailant of old fallacies and novel heresies, and a fearless champion of the great truths of science and religion. His statement of the grounds of an ancient dispute is so clear and precise, that the question seems virtually disposed of before he begins to argue it; and the doctrines which he inculcates are so cautiously brought forward as the immediate results of logical analysis, that one who seeks to impugn them finds it difficult even to state an objection without stumbling upon an absurdity. His writings may be cordially commended as gymnastics of the intellect, even to those who dissent from his opinions, or who are not disposed to follow in the path which he has struck out, and along which he advances with the firm step of one to whom the ground is perfectly familiar. At times he seems a little opinionated, or inclined to dogmatism; but generally, the spirit of his productions is as admirable as their matter. It is the spirit of earnest conviction and of Christian love.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions. By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 773.

The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, from 1665 to 1678; with the Journal of the Council of War, 1675 to 1678; transcribed and edited, in Accordance with a Resolution of the General Assembly, with Notes and an Appendix. By J. Hammond Trumbull, A. M. Hartford: F. A. Brown. 1852. 8vo. pp. 610.

A Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages; composed from the Spanish Dictionaries of the Spanish Academy, Terreros, and Salva, upon the Basis of Seoane's Edition of Neuman and Baretti, and from the English Dictionaries of Webster, Worcester, and Walker; with the Addition of more than 8000 Words, Idioms, and Familiar Phrases, the Irregularities of all the Verbs, and a Grammatical Synopsis of both Languages. In Two Parts: I. Spanish-English; II. English-Spanish. By Mariano Velazquez de la Cadena, Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature in Columbia College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 675 and 604.

A Manual of Grecian Antiquities, with numerous Illustrations. By Charles Anthon, LL. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

An Exposition of some of the Laws of Latin Grammar. By Gessner Harrison, M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia. New York: Harpers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 290.

A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston; to which is added a History of the New Brick Church, with Engravings. By Chandler Robbins, Minister of the Second Church. Published by a Committee of the Society. Boston: Printed by John Wilson & Son. 1852. 8vo. pp. 320.

The Nineteenth Century; or the New Dispensation. Being a Brief Examination of the Claims and Assertions of Emanuel Swedenborg. By a Layman. New York: John Allen. 1852. 12mo. pp. 425.

Hand-Book of Wines, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical; with a Description of Foreign Spirits and Liqueurs. By Thomas McMullen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 326.

The Sinner's Progress; or the Life and Death of Mr. Bachman, and the Ruin of Antichrist. An Extract from "The Holy City." By John Bunyan. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1852.

The Hundred Boston Orators appointed by the Municipal Authorities and Other Public Bodies, from 1770 to 1852; comprising Historical Gleanings illustrating the Principles and Progress of our Republican Institutions. By James Spear Loring. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 694.

The History of Banking, with a Comprehensive Account of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the Banks of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

By William John Lawson. First American Edition, Revised, with Numerous Additions. By J. Smith Homans. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 8vo. pp. 339.

Austria in 1848–49: being a History of the Late Political Movements in Vienna, Milan, Venice, and Prague, with Details of the Campaigns of Lombardy and Novara; a Full Account of the Revolution in Hungary; and Historical Sketches of the Austrian Government and the Provinces of the Empire. By William H. Stiles, late Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at the Court of Vienna. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1852. 2 vols. 8vo.

Dollars and Cents. By Amy Lothrop. New York: George P. Putnam. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr. With Essays on his Character and Influence. By the Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Lorbell. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12 mo. pp. 563.

Cosmos: a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander Von Humboldt. Translated from the German, by E. C. Otte and B. H. Paul, Ph. D. Vol. iv. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. In Four Volumes. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

The Elements of Geology; adapted to the Use of Schools and Colleges. By Justin R. Loomis. With Numerous Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 198.

Horse-Shoe Robinson: A Tale of the Tory Ascendency. By John P. Kennedy. Revised Edition. New York: George P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. pp. 598.

Eleven Weeks in Europe; and what may be Seen in that Time. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 328.

The Principles of Courtesy: with Hints and Observations on Manners and Habits. By George Winifred Hervey. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 300.

The Two Families: an Episode in the History of Chapelton. By the Author of "Rose Douglas." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 251.

Classical Series. Edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt. Elementary Latin Grammar and Exercises. By Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, F. R. S. E., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 12mo. pp. 246.

The Works of Stephen Olin, D. D., LL. D. Sermons and Sketches, Orations and Addresses. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

Recollections of a Journey through Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the Years 1844, 1845, and 1846. By M. Huc, Missionary Priest of the Congregation of St. Lazarus. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 16mo.

The University Speaker: A Collection of Pieces designed for College Exercises in Declamation and Recitation. With Suggestions on the Appropriate Elocution of Particular Passages. By William Russell. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 528.

The Railroad Jubilee. An Account of the Celebration Commemorative of the Opening of Railroad Communication between Boston and Canada, September 17th, 18th, and 19th. Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City Printer. 1852. 8vo. pp. 281.

The Howadji in Syria. By George William Curtis, Author of the "Nile Notes." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 304.

Thorpe, a Quiet English Town, and Human Life Therein. By William Mountford. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 12mo.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical on the Book of Revelations. By Albert Barnes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 506.

An Historical Atlas, containing twelve Charts, with Description, Illustration, and Questions to facilitate its Use. By J. E. Worcester. New and revised Edition. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. Folio.

A Discourse delivered before the New England Society in the City of New York, December 22, 1851. By George S. Hillard. Published by the Society. New York. 1852. 8vo. pp. 31.

The Catholic Chapter in the History of the United States. A Lecture before the Catholic Institute, March 8, 1852, for the Benefit of the House of Protection, under the Charge of the Sisters of Mercy. By the Most Rev. John Hughes, D. D., Archbishop of New York. New York: E. Dunnigan. 1852. 8vo. pp. 38.

Third and Final Report on the Experimental School for Teaching and Training Idiotic Children; also, the First Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth. Reprinted, with Corrections by the Writer. Cambridge: Metcalf & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 38.

Progress of the City of New York during the Last Fifty Years; with Notices of the Principal Changes and Important Events. A Lecture delivered before the Mechanics Society, December 29th, 1851. By Charles King, LL. D., President of Columbia College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 80.

The Pilgrim Spirit: a Poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Yale College, New Haven, July 30, 1851. By Alfred B. Street, Esq. New Haven. 1851. 8vo. pp. 16.

An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society, February 23, 1852. By Daniel Webster. New York. 8vo. pp. 57.

Pequinillo, a Tale. By G. P. R. James, Esq., Author of "Aims and Obstacles." New York: Harpers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 132.

The Napoleon Ballads. By Bon Gaultier. The Poetical Works of Louis Napoleon, now first translated into Plain English. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. pp. 91.

A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and Others, on the Mode of Editing the Writings of Washington. By Jared Sparks. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 8vo. pp. 35.

Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States; collected and prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, per Act of Congress of March, 3, 1847. By Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL. D. Illustrated by S. Eastman, Captain U. S. Army. Published by Authority of Congress. Part II. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1852. Large 4to. pp. 608.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLVII.

OCTOBER, 1852.

ART. I. — *Geology and Industrial Resources of California.* By PHILIP T. TYSON. To which are added, The Official Reports of Generals Persifer F. Smith and B. Riley, including the Reports of Lieuts. Talbot, Ord, Derby, and Williamson, of their Explorations in California and Oregon. Baltimore. 1851. 8vo. pp. xxxiv. 127 and 37.

AMONG the numerous books relating to California and the region west of the Rocky Mountains, there are few, excepting the official reports of Fremont and some members of the United States Engineer corps, from which we can derive much information as to the physical geography or geology of that extraordinary country. Most of these books have been mere transcripts of the writer's personal experience, of the emigrant's perilous wanderings, or the hardships and privations of the gold-seeker, colored by the enthusiasm of success, or tinged with the sombre hues of disappointed hopes and ruined health. Many of them, among which Bayard Taylor's volumes may be especially praised, will afford the reader who may belong to the stay-at-home class of travellers much amusement; while the more adventurous, who themselves design to follow in the trail of the Californian emigrant, may glean from them valuable hints as to the preparations for their journey, and the troubles they will have to encounter before their golden dreams can be realized.

We wish now, however, to call attention to some points of scientific interest in connection with this portion of our territory, and, especially, to some general conclusions as to its resources both commercial and agricultural, and to the prospect of the further development of its mineral and metallic wealth. Our task, unfortunately, will be to show rather what ought to be done before the real extent and value of the resources of this immense territory can be fully understood, than what has been actually accomplished.

Mr. Tyson's work is perhaps the only one which has yet appeared, professing to be devoted to a scientific account of California. We ought not, however, to pass by unnoticed the official report of Mr. T. B. King, which, because it was almost the first document relating to the gold region that came before the public, and especially because it had the authority of legislative sanction, has been widely circulated. Mr. King was not a scientific observer, and his opinions upon the subject of geology are very crude and incorrect. His report was, however, in the most important respect, eminently successful. He estimated the produce of gold at what was then probably considered by most persons, at a distance from the scene of excitement, as a very exaggerated amount; while it has turned out that his estimates rather fall below, than exceed, the real yield of the washings. Thus it often happens that new discoveries are made, and new conditions arise, which have no analogy in the past, where the wisdom of the most experienced is at fault, and where the more ignorant may prove a better prophet than he who looks at what is already known as a guide to what may be expected in the future. Thus, before the copper region of Lake Superior was explored, all our knowledge of the occurrence of native copper rendered it highly probable that no deposits of this metal would be discovered in veins rich enough to be worked; yet facts have demonstrated that such veins exist near Lake Superior, although no parallel case can be found in any other part of the world. Such discoveries show, that, at least in the practical application of geological science, too much caution cannot be used in giving a positive opinion based on negative evidence.

Mr. Tyson joined the expedition that was fitted out in 1849, by General Smith, to enable Mr. King to obtain a birdseye view of the gold regions. Although not holding any official position, but rather, as we judge from his report, making a geological reconnoissance *en amateur*, Mr. Tyson communicated his observations in the form of a report to the Topographical Bureau, and with the usual fate of those who have the misfortune to fall into the hands of the printers of Congress, had to wait nearly a year before his work issued from the press. Receiving a thousand copies for his own use, he had them published at Baltimore, with an introduction containing some additional information, and, what was of equal importance, a copious list of errata, intended to make the portion of the work printed by Congress intelligible.

This expedition left the Sacramento at the junction of Feather river, and made its way in a north-east direction across the elevated and broken country to the Yuba, which river they struck some forty or fifty miles above its mouth. They then proceeded towards the south, across the immense ravines of the western flank of the Sierra Nevada, over a region elevated from 3000 to 5000 feet above the sea. They thus passed a number of the most famous localities of gold-washing, and proceeded as far south as the Calaveras, whence they turned their jaded horses' heads to the west, and made their way across the valley to San Francisco.

The great valley of California is drained by two principal streams — the one flowing north and the other south — which unite midway, and flow through a side-cut into the ocean. This immense trough has, for its eastern rim, the grand masses of the Sierra Nevada, which rise above the limits of perpetual snow. The central mass of this chain seems to be principally made up of granitic rocks, through which occasional volcanic fires have made their way, and piled up lofty peaks of débris. This granitic axis is flanked by heavy accumulations of slaty rocks, alternating with trappean and serpentine masses, and which extend as far as the valley of the Sacramento, where they are entirely concealed by sedimentary deposits of recent origin. We have no data as to the geological age of these slates, which are

the gold-bearing rocks of California. That they are very ancient we have no doubt; but whether they belong to the azoic or palæozoic system, remains entirely undetermined. The similar rocks in some parts of the chain of the Andes have been found to contain fossils of the Silurian age, and it is not improbable that these talcose slates and quartz rocks belong, like the gold-bearing rocks of Vermont and Canada, to the epoch when animal life was first introduced upon the earth.

Sedimentary rocks occur at various points on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, resting nearly horizontally on the upturned edges of the slaty rocks, thus showing that they were deposited after the latter had been elevated, broken up by igneous rocks, and changed in character. These sedimentary beds seem to be principally sandstones and conglomerates; and the same formation, apparently, extends under the Sacramento valley, and appears again in the ridges of the coast-range which forms the western rim of the great trough. Mr. Tyson refers this rock to the eocene or miocene divisions of the tertiary, though we do not find any definite authority in his work for this statement, other than the fact that "specimens of large fossil oysters were observed here, (in the sandstone at Livermore's rancho,) and Mr. Livermore informed us that he had obtained large bones, which he supposed to be those of a whale; *and he was formerly a whaler himself.*"

If it be true that these rocks are of tertiary age, and we believe the fact is corroborated by the statements of Mr. Dana and others, then the whole secondary series is wanting in California. This, of course, implies the absence of valuable beds of coal, which is a serious misfortune to a country in many portions of which wood is so scarce. Numerous discoveries of valuable beds of coal "of the best quality for steaming purposes" have been reported in the newspapers; but they have invariably turned out to be mere seams of lignite or bituminous matter in the tertiary, and of no value whatever. There seems to be no real coal formation nearer and more accessible to California than that of Vancouver's Island, where excellent bituminous coal undoubtedly occurs. This coal formation probably extends into Oregon, though

we have no definite information on that head. We are informed, by Mr. Hall, that the fossils collected by Capt. Stansbury, on the Salt Lake expedition, prove the presence of the carboniferous system in that basin; we may therefore look to the discovery of coal in that region. The subject of the distribution of fossil fuel along the route to California ought to commend itself to the attention of gentlemen who are interested in the great project of a railroad between the Atlantic and Pacific; since it is evident that, unless the road can be made to cut through one or two productive coal-fields, there will be a scarcity of fuel to be apprehended along the line.

Mr. Tyson did not visit the very remarkable quicksilver deposit which occurs to the south-west of San Francisco, and which is now producing a considerable amount of that metal. We have no definite information as to the geological position of this metal, or the quantity of it which exists; but if only a small part of the reports concerning it be true, this region is capable of supplying mercury enough to work the gold of California and furnish Mexico with an abundant supply, so as to encourage the re-working of those silver mines which were abandoned on account of the monopoly of the Spanish mercury by the Rothschilds. There is no more inviting field open for speculation in California than that of quicksilver mining, and we expect soon to see the attention of our capitalists turned in that direction.

Having thus spoken of some of the mineral productions of California, we come to the gold, the great *primum mobile* in the colonization of the Pacific shores. The first discovery was made early in June, 1848, and soon drew a crowd together from San Francisco and the neighboring region. The news of the discovery did not reach the Atlantic States till late in the autumn; and it was not till the next spring that the tide of emigration began to set strongly in that direction. The overland emigration began to arrive in September. Soon the shores of the Pacific, from Oregon to Cape Horn, were lined with ships bound to the land of gold; and as the news spread across the Pacific and the Atlantic, every nation and race sent its representatives to the congress of gold-diggers. Never was a stranger mixture of races

collected together. Nothing in history equals the rapidity with which this remote region was filled up by emigration, or the indomitable energy with which the perils and sufferings of the overland route were affronted. It soon became apparent that the amount of gold to be had was very great, and an extraordinary amount was, naturally enough, magnified into a marvellous one. The wise ones shook their heads, and while they acknowledged that the product might, for a short time, be very great, they prophesied that the zeal displayed by the enterprising Yankees in scratching over the ground would be so great, that the whole surface of the gold-producing region would soon be worked over, and its treasures quickly exhausted.

Mr. Tyson hardly attempts to form any estimates of the probable produce of the Californian washings; but he evidently inclined to the belief that a short time would suffice to exhaust the most accessible portion of the gold; "after which," he says, "the poorly-rewarded gold-digger will find it his interest to work at moderate wages for those who are possessed of the requisite means, skill, and knowledge to manage the business *secundum artem*, and provide comfortable homes for those whom they employ." When this change occurs, the ground, which had previously been only scratched over, will be systematically worked again, while the veins in the solid rock will be examined and their value ascertained. We do not know that any change in the mode of operations has as yet taken place, except that more skilfully-contrived machines for working the gold have been introduced, so that earth containing two cents' worth of gold to the bushel is said to be profitably washed. Temporary companies are often formed for the execution of any enterprise requiring many hands, such as the damming of streams to turn the water from the "bars," as they are called, or accumulations of sand in the river bed. Mr. Tyson thinks that nothing systematic can be accomplished till proper legislation shall enable companies to secure a sufficient quantity of land by purchase, or otherwise, to be worked efficiently and economically. We believe that no steps have yet been taken by the United States Government to lay any claim to the gold-bearing land, or to exact any rent or

duty for its occupation. Every miner or company of miners takes possession of any vacant spot which can be found, and works it at his pleasure, under certain regulations established among the gold-diggers themselves, by which every person has a right to appropriate and work, so long as he pleases, a certain amount (fifteen feet square) of ground abandoned by others, or not previously occupied.

The usual rectangular system of land-surveys, according to which our public lands are cut up into squares and brought into market, is, as is clearly shown by Mr. Tyson, entirely inapplicable to a country like California, even apart from all considerations connected with its mineral wealth. The necessity of purchasing agricultural land with an eye to the facility of obtaining water and, if possible, wood, indicates sufficiently the necessity of reference to these circumstances in laying out the ground. In the mining region, the general direction of the veins, and the facilities of access and drainage, become points of the greatest importance; and it is evident that, if this portion of the country should be divided and sold without any reference to these conditions, there would be endless trouble and confusion. At present, however, we do not believe the Government has it in its power to make any disposal of the gold-bearing land in California; we doubt even whether any attempt to raise a small duty on the gold obtained on the public territory would not be voted down by the miners. The General Land-Office is now tracing the usual system of base and meridian lines through that region; but we have not heard of any feasible plan being yet originated by which the land is to be disposed of, or rent collected. As a preparatory step to any attempt of this kind, it will be found absolutely necessary to cause a thorough geological survey of the country to be executed, either previous to, or *pari passu* with, the linear surveys. Mr. Tyson insists very strongly on the importance of this undertaking, and to his arguments, based on the practical value to the Government of such a survey, we might add that the scientific results of an examination of this interesting country would be of no common interest.

The question of the probable permanent value of the

California gold-washings, and the influence which the great increase in the production of gold would be likely to have upon the relative value of the precious metals, is one which had already begun to excite great attention, even before the discoveries in Australia, which seem to promise almost another California. No one has treated the geological part of the question with more ability than Sir Roderick Murchison, who, in an elaborate article on the occurrence of gold, published in the Quarterly Review of September, 1850, endeavored to show that, in all probability, the gold-washings of California would soon be exhausted, at the rapid rate at which they were then being worked. He also laid down the proposition, that no gold-bearing veins could be wrought in the solid rock with profit. Hence he inferred it was very unlikely that the present increase in the amount of gold raised would continue sufficiently long to effect any diminution in the value of that metal. Murchison did not fix any period as the limit of the yield of the gold-washings; but the fact that there has been a great increase in the years 1851 and 1852 over 1850, and that there are, as yet, no appearances of a diminution of the quantity, but rather a constant increase, seems hardly to agree with the predictions of this distinguished geologist. We willingly grant that it is not probable that the present enormous amount of gold derived exclusively from washings will continue for a great length of time undiminished. The fact that the large increase in the number of men employed in gold-washing has not caused a corresponding increase in the amount of the metal, shows that the average amount obtained by an individual is not so great as during the years 1849, '50, and '51. But as the facilities for communication increase, and the cost of the necessaries of life diminish, localities may be worked which before would not have been profitable; and by the introduction of more thorough and scientific methods, a very large portion of the matter which has been once subjected to a rude washing may be again worked, and afford a handsome profit. Considering the immense extent of the gold region and its thus far unparalleled richness, we think a long period will elapse before it may fairly be said to be exhausted. How many hundred of

millions will be produced, it would require, however, the gift of inspiration to be able to predict.

The question of the possibility of working the gold-bearing veins in the solid rock with profit is one of great importance. A considerable portion of Mr. Tyson's introduction, written some months after the body of the work, is taken up with an endeavor to show, that the hopes of those expecting to mine the auriferous quartz-rock with profit are doomed to disappointment. This has been the case with many of the companies which have undertaken to work the quartz veins, as far as we can judge from the newspaper accounts; and it is not at all surprising. The statements with regard to the richness of the veins in gold being exaggerated beyond all bounds of possibility, it is not to be wondered at that those who put faith in them, and, on the strength of such faith, made their preparations accordingly, were sadly disappointed when they came upon the ground. It might be safely said, in most cases, that if the quartz contained one hundredth part of the amount reported to exist in it, it might be separated in a country where labor and science were in a normal condition with great profit. An enterprise requiring scientific skill, capital, and the use of complicated and costly machinery, could hardly be expected to succeed, at first, in a country situated as California is at present, however rich might be the return under more favorable circumstances. We have no other means of judging of the present condition of the various companies engaged in quartz-mining than newspaper reports, and private letters from intelligent friends in that region. The indications, however, are decidedly in favor of mining being conducted hereafter with profit, and that the gold obtained from the veins will eventually be a large and permanent source of wealth, after the *placer* diggings shall have been exhausted. Murchison insists strongly on the results of our previous experience in the working of auriferous veins, which, as he conceives, demonstrate that the gold is invariably either too much diffused through the rock to be separated with profit, or else that, if rich at the surface, the veins soon lose their metallic wealth, and become valueless, on being worked to any depth. He gives a number of instances in which

such have been the facts. We think, however, that he has gone rather farther in his conclusions than the records of mining will warrant, although we would not deny that general experience is unfavorable to the profitable mining of gold from the veins. Still, a large amount of gold has been produced with the rudest machinery and smallest possible amount of skill, from the exploration of auriferous veins in various regions in South America. Nearly all the produce of the Brazilian mines comes from working the solid rock. Enormous amounts were formerly obtained, and for a long period, from the mines of New Grenada, from the same source; and the operations were not suspended from any diminution of the gold, but only on account of the frequent incursions of the buccaneers. The mining operations now prosecuted in the southern United States are by no means as unfavorable as they are represented by Murchison. We believe that mining is prosecuted with considerable success at several points, especially at the Vaucluse mine, Orange county, Virginia, which is said to be the best organized gold mine in the United States. All the accounts agree in representing the number and extent of the quartz veins in California as very great, and that they do contain large amounts of gold is evident from the "specimens" of their contents which the great drift-agencies have so plentifully distributed over the surface of the country;—for no one will deny that all the gold of the drift once formed part and parcel of the very veins now visible, or of others concealed beneath the soil, whose outcrops have been removed in the furrowing and wearing away into deep ravines which took place during the drift epoch, and which are still proceeding on a much-diminished scale, through the action of those never-ceasing laborers, frost and water. Now, unless it can be shown that the diluvial action swept off all the productive portion of the veins, or in other words, that all the metallic wealth which existed was concentrated just at the surface, then we have a right to consider that a goodly store of the precious metal is still remaining within the bowels of the earth, to reward the perseverance and skill of the miner.

The theory of the process by which the metals and

their ores have concentrated, or segregated, in the veins in which they are already worked, is one of great interest, but, unfortunately, of almost equal obscurity. With regard to gold, for instance, we know that it is found in certain slaty rocks which belong to very ancient periods in the world's history, and which, since their deposition, have been invaded by other rocks of an igneous character, which have pushed themselves up among the slates, turned them up on their edges, and changed their structure and composition. We have reason to believe that the richest and most abundant gold deposits are almost invariably found in strata of the Silurian age, which belong to the earliest grand epoch after the introduction of organic life upon the earth. We have, moreover, considerable evidence that the metamorphic action of the accompanying igneous rocks was in some way connected with the impregnation of the veins with their metallic wealth. The segregation of the gold seems to have taken place at a very late period in the geological chronology; and it is not improbable that it was connected, at least in some of the richest gold-bearing districts, with the last great epoch, which directly preceded the present condition of things on the earth's surface, namely, that of the drift. Such is the opinion of Humboldt and Murchison with regard to the gold of the Ural, which they consider to have originated at as late an epoch as that of the mammoths, whose huge carcasses lie embedded in the frozen soil of Siberia. From the verbal communications of a distinguished naturalist who has visited California, we learn that there have been disturbances of the rocks of that region during the most recent geological period, though we are not yet aware of any evidence to connect these elevations with the impregnation of the rocks with the gold. This is a point of great interest, which we recommend to the consideration of future geological explorers in California.

There is another interesting question connected with the gold-bearing veins. Granting that they be found sufficiently productive at or near the surface to pay for working, is it probable that this richness will hold as the veins are worked downwards, so as to justify the expenditure of a large amount in preparing the necessary

machinery for operating on an extensive scale? In short, can they be wrought with the same confidence with which deposits of other metals are? A true vein is generally considered to be of indefinite depth, and it is always hoped, and frequently found true, that its metallic contents increase in richness as the vein is worked downwards; but it is commonly believed that auriferous veins form an exception to this rule, and that their riches are concentrated near the surface. Some rather fanciful theories have been suggested to account for this supposed fact; but none which can pretend to be at all satisfactory. The occurrence of the enormous *pepites*, or *nuggetts* of gold, as they are called by the Australian miners, in the superficial deposits, while it was taken for granted that none such would be found in the solid rock, as in truth they have not yet been, led to the supposition that there was some mysterious connection between this metal and the atmosphere, by which it was attracted to the surface, or that it rose to the top of the vein by a process like fermentation or efflorescence. We apprehend that it can by no means be considered as proved that all gold-bearing veins must necessarily diminish in richness as they are worked downwards. The increased difficulty of working the rock below the point where it has become disaggregated and decomposed by the agency of the atmosphere, may be, in part, the origin of the general belief in the decreased richness. Gold very frequently occurs in connection with sulphuret of iron, a substance which readily decomposes when exposed to the atmosphere; and in such a state, it leaves the quartz with which it is associated in a more manageable condition, while the undecomposed quartz-rock is one of the toughest and most refractory of substances. It is almost universally the case that gold occurs associated with some ore of iron, either iron pyrites or the specular oxide; we can, however, thus far only state the fact, without the slightest clue to the real reason why these metals occur together, which remains, with many other inquiries of the like kind with regard to the distribution and association of the metals, an excellent subject for future investigations.

The whole amount, as well as the relative proportion,

of the precious metals produced throughout the world has undergone an immense change within the last four years. At the commencement of the present century, the whole amount of gold produced throughout the world was 51,000 lbs. Troy; of silver 2,331,000 lbs. Troy; or, by weight, as 1 to 45. At this time, the American continent furnished nine tenths of the gold, and about ninety-one hundredths of the silver, of the world. The political troubles throughout Spanish America, during the years following 1810, caused a considerable diminution in the product of the American mines; but about this time the Russian mines began to be worked, and soon the product of gold from that source began to be of greater importance than that of all the rest of the world put together. The amount obtained from the Russian mines in 1816 was only 194 lbs. Troy; but there was a steady increase up to the year 1848, when the amount had reached 70,000 lbs., the whole produce of the rest of the world at this time being about 40,000 lbs. It does not appear that the Russian mines have yet reached their productive limit; for though the latest statistics indicate a slight falling off in the quantity of gold, yet it is sufficiently accounted for by a large increase of the duty imposed on private mines. In the Russian empire, the Emperor has complete power over the product of the mines, and can check or increase it according to his own ideas of political economy and expediency.

In 1847, just before the discovery of the riches of California, the annual product of gold throughout the world was about 110,000 lbs. Troy. That of silver was almost the same as at the commencement of the century, namely, 2,000,000 lbs., the Mexican mines having nearly regained their former productiveness, and the amount from some of the European countries, as, for instance, that of Spain, being considerably increased. The relative proportion by weight of the gold to the silver was, at that time, as 1 to 18.

The estimates of the quantity of California gold for 1851 vary from seventy to eighty-two millions of dollars. We think the lower estimate nearer to the truth, and even that is too high. The whole amount deposited in the United States mint and branches for the year 1851 was $55,938,502; shipped from San Francisco to Lon-

don, $3,392,760; shipped to other foreign ports, $600,000; in all $59,931,262. All beyond this sum is mere estimate, and includes the amount added to the circulation of California in the coinage of private assaying companies, and that carried to various other parts of the world in private hands. On the whole, we think that the amount actually produced during 1851 would not probably fall below sixty-five millions, or go above seventy millions of dollars.

The deposits of California gold during the first half of the current year were about $27,000,000, the amount for June being larger than that of any previous month; and it appears probable that the product of 1852 will exceed that of 1851.

The deposits of gold of domestic production at all the United States mints were as follows: 1848, $896,675; 1849, $7,079,144; 1850, $36,938,314; 1851, $56,540,912; first six months of 1852, $27,614,332.

The sum total of gold deposits of domestic origin at all the United States mints, from their establishment up to the end of June, 1852, is $141,877,209; of Californian origin, $125,468,656; leaving $16,408,553 as the product principally of the mines and washings of the Atlantic States.

The astonishing change in the relative amount of the precious metals consequent on the discovery of the Californian *placers* may be seen by examining the following estimates, drawn from the most trustworthy sources, of the yield for the year 1851.

	Gold, lbs. Troy.	Silver, lbs. Troy.		Gold, lbs. Troy.	Silver, lbs. Troy.
United States,	275,000	30,000	Brought up,	388,500	2,214,000
Mexico,	10,000	1,500,000	Great Britain,		25,000
Central America,	500		France,		5,000
Venezuela,	1,000		Zollverein,		94,000
New Grenada,	10,000	15,000	Austrian Empire,	3,500	75,000
Bolivia,	1,200	120,000	Spain,		125,000
Peru,	3,000	370,000	Sardinia,		3,000
Chili,	4,000	120,000	Asia and Africa,*	16,000	20,000
Brazil,	13,800	1,000	Australia,	18,000	2,000
Russian Empire,	70,000	43,000			
Sweden and Norway,		15,000	Total,	426,000	2,563,000
Carried up,	388,500	2,214,000			

* Excepting China and Japan, of which we have no accurate knowledge, and whose metallic products are consumed within their own borders.

According to this table, the relative proportion of the two metals had become, in 1851, as 1 to 6. If we estimate the yield of the Australian washings for 1852 at 150,000 lbs. Troy, we shall have a farther increase of gold to about 1 to 4.5 of silver, thus exhibiting the following variations since 1800.

Year.	Relative weight of Gold.	Silver.	Year.	Relative weight of Gold.	Silver.
1800	1	45	1851	1	6
1847	1	18	1852	1	4.5

It is evident, from these statements, that, while the production of gold has increased suddenly and enormously at various periods since the commencement of this century, that of silver, on the contrary, has been, with slight fluctuations, very slowly increasing, having risen from two millions to something over two and a half millions of pounds Troy, during the last fifty years. It becomes an important question for investigation, whether there is likely to be any considerable change in regard to this metal; since it is evident that, if the present ratio of production continues, there will be a sensible decline in the value of gold compared with that of silver. The history of the precious metals shows that this has been the case heretofore, great fluctuations having resulted from the discovery of new mining regions. It is generally admitted that the relative value of the precious metals had undergone but little change for a long period previous to the discovery of the South American mines. The mines of Potosi began to be worked about the middle of the sixteenth century, and the effect of their enormous product of silver was to cause a great depreciation in the value of this metal. This depreciation, however, was not sudden; on the contrary, silver does not appear to have fallen nearly to its present value till after these mines had been pouring out their treasures for nearly a hundred years. Thus, during the first half of the sixteenth century, gold is believed to have been about ten times the value of silver; at the close of that century it it had risen to be twelve times as valuable, and, fifty years later, it was about fourteen to one. Here it remained nearly stationary for a long period, rising to its present value of about $15\frac{3}{4}$ to 1, from $14\frac{1}{2}$, during the last half century.

We see how slowly gold rose, even after the South American mines had added so immensely to the amount of silver in circulation; and we may infer, that, if it is to fall, any such change in the other direction will not be a sudden one, but rather the result of the accumulation of many years' surplus. There was, it is true, in 1850, when the great productiveness of the California washings began to be admitted, quite a panic in the silver market, which was increased by the action of the Dutch government in selling a considerable quantity of gold and replacing it with silver, in order to be prepared in time for any depreciation of the former metal. Standard English silver rose, in consequence, from 5 shillings per ounce to nearly 5*s.* 2*d.*; but it has now fallen again to a trifle below 5 shillings. In the mean time, an immense amount of gold is being coined by the French and American governments, and the effects of a largely increased circulation of this metal are felt in France, where it has fallen from nearly two per cent. premium to a slight discount, while in this country, there is a growing scarcity of silver for change, and a considerable premium on it. One great reason why the value of gold has not been, and perhaps will not be, for some time affected to a considerable amount is, that, previous to the discovery of the Californian *placers*, there had been a deficiency of gold which even the produce of the Russian mines had not fully counterbalanced. The immensely increased demand for this metal for consumption in the arts had undoubtedly withdrawn a large amount from circulation, which it was very desirable to have replaced; and for this purpose the supply from California came quite seasonably, except that there seems to be too much of it for the purpose. "It never rains but it pours," says the proverb; and what with the recent development in Australia and the announcement of sundry El Dorados in South America and Africa, we seem likely to be quite overwhelmed with the golden shower.

If there was a prospect of any considerable increase in the production of silver, at all corresponding with that which has taken place with regard to gold, then, though there might be a general rise of prices corresponding to the great increase in the quantity of the precious metals, it is plain that there would not be any great change in

their relative value. Although the production of silver may be considerably increased by the discovery and successful working of new mines of quicksilver, still we think it demonstrable that there can never be such extraordinary fluctuations in the amount of this metal raised as there have been in that of gold. We have not the discovery of another continent to look forward to, whose mines, like those of South America, shall deluge the world with metallic wealth. We can only increase the actual amount of silver by the application of skill and capital to the working of veins. Native silver is of comparatively rare occurrence, with the exception of the small percentage which almost invariably occurs united with native gold. Silver occurs in nature principally in a *mineralized state*, that is to say, combined with sulphur or some such substance, from which combination it must be withdrawn by a process requiring skill and capital. Moreover, silver and its ores are obtained almost entirely from veins, many of which become richer in descending, and which must be wrought at great depths, with a great outlay of capital, before a handsome profit rewards the speculation. Gold, on the other hand, as we have seen, is separated from superficial deposits almost without requiring aid from either scientific skill or capital. A few dollars and a day's practice enable the gold-digger, if he be endowed with a sufficient stock of health to endure the fatigue, to set his rocker in motion, or shake his tin pan, so as to separate a large proportion of the golden particles from the sand in which they occur.

Then there is no reason to suppose that the productiveness of the European mines will undergo any very considerable change for the present. These are worked with consummate skill, and any change in their product will be unimportant, unless we except Spain, where there is a possibility of making considerable additions to the product of silver as well as of other metals, provided that this kingdom remains in its present comparatively quiet state. Farther developments in Mexico and South America will depend, partly on the political state of the various governments, and partly on the variations in the price of mercury caused by the discovery of new sources of supply for this metal. Duport, in his valuable work on the production of

the precious metals in Mexico, remarks that the principal causes which operate against the almost unlimited development of the metallic wealth of that country are the political troubles, the want of scientific skill, and the high price of mercury. He evidently considers the resources of the country in silver as almost boundless, for he adds, "that the time will come, sooner or later, when the production of silver will have no other limits than such as are developed by the constantly increasing decline in value of this metal." This opinion seems rather exaggerated, when we consider how unsuccessful the English companies have been in their attempts to apply their capital and mining skill in that region.

On the whole, we think there is good reason for believing, if there is an increase in the production of silver, that it will be gradual, and that it will not be in any degree commensurate with that which has taken place recently in regard to gold. The question then arises, what will become of the immense surplus of gold, after all that can be absorbed by the demands of a circulating medium has been supplied? and whether there is reason to believe that gold may be made in any degree to take the place of silver in the arts without a considerable fall in its price, so as to bring it down somewhere near equality with that metal. The physical properties of gold are not so far superior to those of silver as to render it probable that a very considerable change will take place in this respect as long as one is fifteen or sixteen times more costly than the other. In fact, we do not see sufficient reason to suppose that gold, at only five times the value of silver, would drive the latter from general use. Both metals are equally unaffected by the oxygen of the atmosphere, or in other words, equally little liable to rust from common exposure. The melting-point of gold is a little above that of silver, though not sufficiently so to be of any general consequence. Had gold the infusibility of platina it would be an immense addition to its value. Silver is decidedly inferior to gold in two respects, one of which affects its value for common usages; it is dissolved by nitric acid, while gold is only attacked by a mixture of nitric and chlorohydric acids, (*aqua regia*,) and it is easily acted on by sulphur, as is well known by

all who have performed the experiment of eating an egg with a silver spoon. This facility of combining with sulphur renders silver liable to be blackened, by the formation of the sulphuret of silver, wherever it is exposed to exhalations of gases from sewers, drains, &c., which contain sulphuretted hydrogen, and when worn in contact with the person. Silver is harder than gold, but the alloy of copper and gold, in the proportion of 1 to 9, is more durable than the alloy of copper and silver used in the arts and in coin. Gold, however, is preëminently distinguished by its color, in which it differs from all other metals; while silver only excels the other white metals in the brilliancy of the polish it is capable of receiving, and in the purity of its color.

It is impossible to form an estimate of the actual amount of the precious metals actually in use in the form of plate, jewelry, and other articles of luxury; but we know that the quantity must be very great, when we consider the amount that has been produced during the last three hundred years, even after making allowance for all that has been lost by wear, hoarding, shipwreck, and every other conceivable cause. Silver is truly an article of universal use; and we do not see, from a comparison of their physical properties, that gold can be expected to take its place in any considerable degree till some approach has been made to equality in their respective prices.

From all that has been said on the subject of the production of the precious metals, we infer: 1. That the present increase in the amount of gold is likely to continue for a considerable period. 2. That there is no probability that the production of silver will increase in a corresponding ratio. 3. That the price of gold must fall very considerably, before it will take the place of silver as a metal of general use in the arts. 4. That the value of gold, compared with that of silver, will decrease, though slowly, and perhaps not to the extent that is generally apprehended.

Before taking leave of Mr. Tyson's work, we ought to refer to his chapter on the climate and agricultural capabilities of California, which subjects are discussed by him with ability. It is evident that a wide field is opened in

that region for the application of scientific agriculture; and that well-directed enterprise in that direction will reap a rich reward. No country of equal extent seems capable of supplying a greater variety of crops; and though an artificial system of irrigation would have to be resorted to in many cases, yet the richness of the soil will fully counterbalance this disadvantage. The culture of the vine is especially recommended by the nature of the soil and climate. On the whole, enough has been done in the way of developing the resources of this extraordinary country, to show how much must be done, before we shall have a full idea of its capabilities; and we trust that either the State itself, or the General Government, will see the importance of causing a thorough scientific investigation of the whole region to be made as soon as possible.

ART. II. — *Life of* LORD JEFFREY, *with a Selection from his Correspondence.* By LORD COCKBURN, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

THIS is a very inadequate memoir of one who, both in literature and politics, during the first quarter of the present century, did more than any other man to guide the taste, form the opinions, and direct the conduct of the thinking portion of the English people. At the present day, we can hardly estimate the amount of influence that was wielded by the Edinburgh Review from the time of its establishment up to the period of the Emancipation of the Catholics and the passage of the Reform bill, — two measures which, without its aid, would not have been passed so soon by many years. Newspapers, as means for the formation of public opinion, and not merely for the expression of it and for the dissemination of news, were not then in being. The Edinburgh Review *began* the discussion of great public questions, in a periodical form, and as speaking in the name, not of an

individual, but of a great party, or at least, of an association of men qualified by their studies, their abilities, and their independent position, to lead the sentiments of the people. The opinions of its conductors had all the more weight from the fact that their names were not generally known. They were thus less liable to the imputation of personal motives, and their views claimed no authority except from their intrinsic weight, and from the ability with which they were set forth and defended. In the kind and degree of its influence, the Review *was* what The Times newspaper *is*, — a great tribunal, speaking in the name of the collected and unbiased intelligence and moral sentiment of the community, to which all new books and concerted public measures were liable to be called up for judgment. Its title to assume this lofty tone and this public character was founded merely on the merit and plausibility of its judgments, and of the reasons adduced in support of them. And never was a title better vindicated. Its boldness, its impartiality, its unsparing severity, its fierce denunciation of error, imbecility, and crime in high places, its pitiless exposure of ignorance, pretension, and bad taste in letters, and of political jobbing and tergiversation, inspired equal awe and admiration. It was a fortunate circumstance that its founders were a few young men, most of them being still under thirty years of age, and, either as briefless lawyers or unbeneficed clergymen, having every thing to gain and nothing to lose by their audacity and their petulance. If they had been older or more fortunate in the position which they held, they would have been more timid and prudent; they would have made fewer enemies, and produced less effect on public measures and literary opinion.

It was a happy accident which brought together in Edinburgh, in 1802, young men like Jeffrey, Brougham, Sidney Smith, Francis Horner, and Allen. They were united in the greatest intimacy by the similarity of their opinions, their pursuits, and their position. Conscious of possessing eminent talents, eager to find an arena on which their abilities might be tried, not hampered by the presence and advice of over-discreet relatives and patrons, belonging to a party which was then disliked and almost

proscribed in the circles of rank and fashion, and holding their opinions all the more firmly because they were thus disliked by the gentry and favored by the body of the people, the project of establishing such a work as the Review, on a plan which was at once novel and ambitious, was naturally a tempting one to them; and when once embarked in it, they could not fail to prosecute it with vigor and audacity. Sidney Smith, in an account given forty years afterwards, treats the inception of the whole affair as a youthful frolic; but that veteran joker was prone to regard serious subjects only in their ludicrous aspect. The other actors in the business certainly thought it was no laughing matter. They proposed to do battle in good earnest against abuses in the state and the church, — against literary sins and political enormities. There were evils enough to contend against; to adopt Smith's enumeration of them, "the Catholics were not emancipated — the Corporation and Test Acts were unrepealed — the Game Laws were horribly oppressive — Steel-Traps and Spring-Guns were set all over the country — Prisoners tried for their lives could have no counsel — Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily upon mankind — Libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonment — the principles of Political Economy were little understood — the Law of Debt and of Conspiracy were upon the worst possible footing — the enormous wickedness of the Slave Trade was tolerated — a thousand evils were in existence, which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed; and," he adds, with pardonable pride and entire correctness, "these effects were not a little assisted by the honest boldness of the Edinburgh Review."

Reviews have no such power nowadays, mainly because the newspapers have taken the work out of their hands. But it should be remembered, to the honor of Jeffrey and his associates, that they formed and educated the whole school of writers whose labors have superseded their own. They first demonstrated that an effective appeal might be made from the decisions of the Ministry and the Parliament to that of the people. They virtually transferred the discussion of great public measures from the chapel of St. Stephen's to the pages of a peri-

odical. The speeches made in the House of Commons now produce a greater effect through their subsequent publication in the newspapers than by their original delivery. It was not thus forty years ago, when the Edinburgh Review was in the full vigor of its activity. The great majority which the ministry commanded in Parliament enabled them then to neglect or contemn all manifestations of feeling and opinion out of doors. Perhaps nothing shook this confidence on their part so much as the Trial of the Queen in 1820. The disastrous result of this attempt to carry, by party discipline and parliamentary majorities, a measure which was repugnant to the excited feelings and the strong sense of justice of the whole nation, effectually deterred the ministry from any repetition of the endeavor. The old Tory party then rapidly declined in numbers, spirit, and influence; and after a few years of vacillation and dismay, a rapid succession of great public events caused the final disruption of the ties which had hitherto united them, and showed very clearly that the sceptre of their power had departed forever. The ministry of Mr. Canning, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the Emancipation of the Catholics, and the passage of the Reform Bill, were the several steps of their decline and extinction. The Conservative party, which was organized in 1832, did not either inherit the name or the principles of the Tories; it has been the party of moderate, as opposed to radical, Reform; and it has probably carried a greater number of reformatory measures, the repeal of the Corn Laws included, even than the Whigs.

We have spoken chiefly of the political services rendered by the Edinburgh Review, because these are least known, except in the country which directly profited by them. We all know what a sensation it made in the literary world — what despotism it exercised for many years in the realms of taste and thought. Its government in this respect was severe — perhaps harsh; but it was in the main just, and it was certainly conducted without fear or favor. The oracle may have been opinionated and flippant, — rather old-fashioned in its principles of taste, and too fond of inflicting summary punishment on all innovators. It was a little suspicious of new fashions in literature,

and a little blind to rising, but yet unrecognized merit. But no one can doubt that its influence on the whole was salutary, and its canons of criticism generally sound. A few rebelled against its authority, but we do not recollect more than one instance in which its judgment has been decidedly reversed. Wordsworth has triumphed in spite of Jeffrey. Yet the victory was due rather to his persistency than to his principles. The verdict of his contemporaries was carried by the Edinburgh Review against him; and he was obliged to wait till a new generation had sprung up, and till he had weeded his productions of some of their most offensive peculiarities, before his genius was generally acknowledged. In great part, he created the taste by which his own works are now appreciated. In nearly every other instance, the judgment of Jeffrey and his brother critics has been affirmed. He detected the genius of Keats, and opened the eyes of his contemporaries to the merits of Crabbe. He was one of the first to make the beauties of the Old English Dramatists again familiarly known to the English people. He contributed largely to overthrow the reputation of the wits of Queen Anne's time, and to a revival of taste for the authors of the Elizabethan age. He spoke slightingly of Addison and Pope, and he gibbeted Swift; while he did much to form a liking for Spenser, Fletcher, and Massinger, and was a high-priest to the national idolatry of Shakspeare.

Thus far, we have spoken rather of the Edinburgh Review than of Mr. Jeffrey; for, notwithstanding the high place which he occupied at the Edinburgh bar for many years, and his later career as a Judge, and his public services as Lord Advocate and a member of Parliament, in which capacities he drew up the Scotch Reform Bill, and superintended its passage through the lower House, his name and fame are in great part identified with that periodical. He edited it from 1803 to 1829, which was the whole period of its incontestable eminence, and during which time, of course, he was a large and regular contributor to its contents. According to a list given by Lord Cranstoun, he wrote for it just two hundred articles, only four of which were contributed after he ceased to be the editor. As these articles would average at least

fifteen or sixteen pages each, the sum of his contributions would fill about six volumes of the Review, — all written in the intervals of business, or while their author was taking the lead in a dignified and laborious profession. Few men can render so good an account of the few hours of leisure which remain to them, after accomplishing their stated tasks in life. Of course, Jeffrey's exclusively editorial labors, — writing to correspondents, soliciting contributions, amending some and rejecting others, — occupied quite as much time as was given to his own articles, and occupied it with more vexatious, harassing, and responsible toil. Yet he was no bookworm, no plodder, no German professor turning an intellectual grindstone for sixteen hours a day, and asking for no other diversion than a pipe and a jug of sour beer. He was a lively man of the world and an affectionate father of a family; he always reserved time enough for the varied calls of fashionable and literary life, and for frolicking with his children on the grass. The best contribution which Lord Cockburn's volumes make to our knowledge of him is the disclosure of the tenderness of his character and the happiness of his domestic life.

In one sense, the materials for his biography were small, as there were few marked incidents in his career. His biographer has made but poor use of what there was, and seems to have possessed no other qualification for his task than long intimacy with the subject of the memoir, and warm friendship for him, together with entire sympathy with his political and literary opinions. Lord Cockburn was Jeffrey's old associate and friend, both at the bar and on the bench; but we believe this work, published late in life, is his sole literary effort; and the public certainly will not call on him to repeat the endeavor. His style is not enlivened by any vivacity of remark or grace of composition. The memoir fills one volume, and the correspondence another, instead of being intermingled, so as to throw light on each other. Portions of the letters are thus necessarily repeated; scraps taken from them are inwoven in the biography, and then again printed at length, in their place in the second volume. The memoir is not broken up into chapters, or furnished either with an index or table of contents; so

that it stretches out in monotonous length, dull and uniform, like a turnpike road through a pine barren. Jeffrey's bright and vivacious intellect deserved a more life-like and entertaining biography. All that is here added to our former knowledge of him may be very briefly summed up.

Francis Jeffrey was born in Edinburgh, on the 23d of October, 1773. His father was a respectable deputy-clerk of the Court of Session, of moderate means and rather a gloomy disposition, so that the lively and affectionate temperament of the son must have been inherited from his mother, who died when he was only thirteen years of age. He had two sisters, besides one who died in infancy, and an only brother, John, to whom he was much attached, and who emigrated to the United States, and spent a large portion of his life as a merchant here in Boston. When only eight years old, Francis was sent to the High School of Edinburgh, where he remained six years, under the tuition of Dr. Alexander Adam and the two sub-masters. He had as schoolmates, though not as classmates, Walter Scott and Henry Brougham, besides others of considerable local reputation; but beyond his intercourse with them, and acquiring a fair knowledge of Latin and very little Greek, he did not receive much benefit from his life at school. There was ample room for improvement in the modes of tuition which prevailed in those days, and the Edinburgh High School does not seem to have stood high among seminaries of its own class. "His few surviving class-fellows only recollect him as a little, clever, anxious boy, always near the top of the class, and who never lost a place without shedding tears." Glasgow College, to which he was transferred at the age of fourteen, was a better home for him; there he laid the foundation of the taste for metaphysical studies which he always retained. The improvements made by Professor Jardine in the mode of teaching Logic, clothing that arid study with the attractions of varied disquisition and criticism by the students themselves, formed an era in the history of collegiate instruction; and Jeffrey seems to have been one of his most successful pupils. Thirty-three years afterwards, in his Discourse at his own Inauguration as Rector of

the College, he gracefully said of Jardine, who was there present, "what I have never omitted to say in every other place, that it is to him and his most judicious instructions that I owe my taste for letters, and any little literary distinction I may since have been able to attain." John Miller, Professor of the sciences of Law and Government, was then in the zenith of his reputation as an eloquent and instructive lecturer; but he was a warm Whig, and, oddly enough, Jeffrey was prevented, by the strong Tory prejudices of his father, from attending Miller's class.

Leaving Glasgow in May, 1789, Jeffrey remained in and about Edinburgh for two years, without any regular instruction, but diligently prosecuting his private studies, and training himself particularly in English composition, by writing innumerable essays on a great variety of topics. He wrote translations from Latin and French, epitomes of books, imaginary speeches to the House of Commons, and critical judgments of the authors whom he had actually perused, among whom, besides most of the English classics, were Fenelon, Voltaire, Marmontel, Rousseau, Racine, Rollin, Buffon, and Montesquieu. Of course, he could have read only a portion of their works; but his biographer tells us it is "surprising how just most of his conceptions of their merits and defects are." No wonder that he subsequently became the greatest critic of his age, when such were his occupations before he was eighteen years old! He frequently concluded his criticism of another by a critical estimate of his own performance, and of the merits and defects of his own intellectual character, — not merely sportive, but generally serious and elaborate, as if he considered such reviews were an important means of self-discipline. These essays were not composed by rule; they did not follow any method laid down in the books, and they were not mere recollections of what he had read. They were independent exercises of his own taste and judgment, sometimes crude in expression and reasoning, but still original, and generally free from bad taste, because they were intended for no eye but his own. Between November and March, he wrote thirty-one essays, on as great a variety of subjects as Lord Bacon's, and each being about the length of a paper of the Spectator. In the concluding one, which

bears for its title, "Of the Foregoing Essays," he very sensibly says, "By habituating myself to this sort of management, I thought I should never want something to say upon trivial subjects, — something to the purpose on more important ones."

Thus was laid the foundation of that quickness of intellect and versatility of talent for which, in after life, he was so remarkable, and which the volumes of his selected contributions to the Edinburgh Review so strikingly exemplify. These juvenile performances were not formal exercises in English style, or elaborate attempts to be either entertaining, fanciful, or eloquent. They were designed mainly to cultivate his power of thought and accuracy of discrimination. As he remarked at the time, simplicity, and not elegance of expression, was the quality he chiefly studied, while originality of thought was his main object. His notions of style were afterwards more fully developed in the Review, where he said, "half of the affectation and offensive pretension we meet with in authors, arises from want of matter, and the other half from a palty ambition of being eloquent and ingenious out of place."

In September, 1791, Jeffrey entered at Queen's College, Oxford, where he remained, however, only eight months, having become wretchedly homesick in that time, because he found few associates, and the air of the place seemed favorable only to idleness and dissipation. He wrote out a list of twenty-seven persons, including his private tutor, with whom he had formed acquaintance while there, adding in a single line a character for each, which was any thing but complimentary. The tutor is summarily dismissed as "a pedant." One is described as "polite, lazy, quick, and dissipated;" another, as "merry, good-natured, noisy, foolish;" a third, as "stiff, ignorant, silent, and passive;" and so on, to the end of the calendar. There is but one flattering portrait in the collection. Jeffrey was enabled to accomplish one object by his residence at Oxford, on which he had set his heart before going thither; he succeeded in unlearning his Scotch idiom and accent, though he was not very fortunate in acquiring an English voice. The change was so sudden and violent, that it excited the surprise and mirth of his

friends. Many years afterwards, Lord Holland described it by saying that "Jeffrey had lost the broad Scotch at Oxford, but had only gained the narrow English." It is maintained, by those who have had the best opportunities to observe, that the acquisition of a pure English accent by a full-grown Scotchman is impossible; and Jeffrey would have escaped some ridicule in after life, if he had cheerfully acknowledged this fact, and acted accordingly.

At the age of nineteen, after casting a wishful glance at London as the place where the highest honors awaited eminence in legal practice, Jeffrey adopted the more prudent course by devoting himself to the study of Scotch law, and fixing his residence at Edinburgh. But he seems to have had, all his life, a painful sense of the inferiority of a provincial reputation, and a hankering after the broader theatre for display, and the more varied and captivating society, of the great metropolis. With all his brilliant and versatile talent, however, we doubt whether he would have attained great success at the bar in London, or on the English circuits, though he would certainly have been anywhere an effective *nisi prius* advocate and a sound lawyer. But he lacked the concentration of intellect and the dogged perseverance, which only a master passion or an overruling ambition can give. He dallied too long and too successfully with the Muses for the severe taste and rigid exclusiveness of the English courts and the English House of Commons. Though his profession was his main reliance, and he gave only his spare hours to literature and philosophy, the reputation which he soon acquired in them probably obstructed his success even at the Scotch bar. He did not become a Judge till comparatively late in life, and owed his promotion then, perhaps, rather to political services than to his eminence at the bar. He was not a great jurist, but he stood high in that class of practitioners of whom Lord Erskine was the great chief. He may even have modelled his own professional character on that of his distinguished countryman, who, it should be remembered, failed as Chancellor, and even as a debater in Parliament.

While reading law in Edinburgh, he became an active member of the well-known Speculative Society, reading

several elaborate essays in it, and taking part with great ardor in the debates. He attended its meetings regularly for three years, and visited it frequently as a volunteer many years longer, hardly ever remaining silent through a whole evening. Among his associates and competitors on this stage were Walter Scott, Horner, Brougham, Allen, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and many others, who subsequently achieved distinction in the state. All opinions in politics, letters, and law were represented in this active debating club; and as most of the questions which then agitated the community, during the general upheaval of opinion and downfall of old systems which attended the outbreak of the French Revolution, became frequent subjects of debate, the discussion was often conducted with great ardor and vehemence. The talkative, disputatious, and somewhat pedantic tone of general society in Edinburgh at that time may be attributed, in great part, to the influence of this association. We must not say that the general effect was bad, considering the great number of eminent men whose characters and talents were certainly developed and shaped by their active participation in these wordy contests. But if the few profited by them, they unquestionably fostered pretentious loquacity and impertinent dogmatism among the many. The dashing and flippant tone for which the Edinburgh Review soon became famous, betrayed the school in which most of the contributors to it had been trained.

Another institution, peculiar to Edinburgh, contributed not a little to the formation of Jeffrey's intellectual character, and opened a field for the exercise of his talents before he had attained much eminence as an advocate. We refer to the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, which had judicial as well as legislative functions, though, as practice at its bar was not lucrative, and was regarded almost as extra-professional, only the younger advocates, or those who otherwise would hardly have practised at all, appeared before its tribunal. But we will borrow Lord Cockburn's account of this remarkable assembly, as it is lively and picturesque enough to afford a favorable contrast with the remainder of his book.

"It is a sort of Presbyterian convocation, which meets, along with a commissioner representing the Crown, for about twelve

days yearly. It consists of about 200 clergymen, and about 150 lay elders, presided over by a reverend president, called the Moderator, who is elected by the Assembly annually, and very seldom more than once. Its jurisdiction is both judicial and legislative. As an ecclesiastical parliament, it exercises, subject to very ill-defined limitations, a censorian and corrective authority over all the evils and all affairs of the church. As a court, it deals out what appears to it to be justice upon all ecclesiastical delinquencies and disputes. Its substance survives, but, in its air and tone, it has every year been degrading more and more into the likeness of common things; till at last the primitive features which, half a century ago, distinguished it from every other meeting of men in this country, have greatly faded. Yet how picturesque it still is! The royal commissioner and his attendants, all stiff, brilliant, and grotesque, in court attire: the members gathered from every part of the country, — from growing cities, lonely glens, distant islands, agricultural districts, universities, and fallen burghs; — the varieties of dialect and tone, uncorrupted fifty years ago by English; — the kindly greetings; — the social arrangements; — the party plots; — the strangeness of the subjects; — partly theological, partly judicial, partly political, often all mixed; — of the deepest apparent importance to the house, however insignificant or incomprehensible to others; — the awkwardness of their forms, and the irregularity of their application; — their ignorance of business; — the conscientious intolerance of the rival sects; — the helplessness, when the storm of disorder arises, of the poor shortlived inexperienced moderator; — the mixture of clergy and laity, of nobility and commoners, civilians and soldiers; — the curious efforts of oratory; — the ready laughter, even among the grim; — and consequently the easy jokes. Higher associations arise when we think of the venerable age of the institution; the noble struggles in which it has been engaged; the extensive usefulness of which it is capable; and the eminent men and the great eloquence it has frequently brought out; including, in modern times, the dignified persuasiveness of Principal Robertson, the graceful plausibility of Dr. George Hill, the Principal's successor as the leader of the church's majority, the manly energy of Sir Harry Moncrieff, and the burning oratory of Chalmers. Connecting every jurisdiction, and every member of the church (which then meant the people) into one body, it was calculated to secure the benefits, without the dangers, of an official superintendence of morals and religion; and to do, in a more open and responsible way, for the Church of Scotland, what is done, or not done, by the bishops for the Church of England. Such a senate might have continued to direct and control the cheapest, the most popular, and the most republican established

church in the world. Its essential defect is as a court of justice. Nothing can ever make a mob of 300 people a safe tribunal for the decision of private causes; and the Assembly's forms are framed as if the object were to aggravate the evil.

"It met in those days, as it had done for about two hundred years, in one of the aisles of the then grey and venerable cathedral of St. Giles. That plain, square, galleried apartment was admirably suited for the purpose; the more so, that it was not too large; and it was more interesting, from the men who had acted in it, and the scenes it had witnessed, than any other existing room in Scotland. It had beheld the best exertions of the best men in the kingdom, ever since the year 1640. Yet was it obliterated in the year 1830, with as much indifference as if it had been of yesterday; and for no reason except a childish desire for new walls and change. The Assembly sat there for the last time in May, 1829; and it has never been the Assembly since.

"Its bar, though beneath him, had several attractions for Jeffrey. It needed no legal learning, and no labor beyond attendance; but always required judgment and management; it presented excellent opportunities for speaking, especially as the two inconvenient checks of relevancy and pertinency were seldom in rigid observance; and it was the most popular of all our established audiences. He constantly treated them to admirable speeches, — argumentative, declamatory, or humorous, as the occasion might require. Accordingly he was a prodigious favorite. They felt honored by a person of his eminence practising before them; and their liking for the individual, with his constant liberality and candor, was still stronger than their admiration of his talents, and even their detestation of his politics. It was thought a dull day when he was not there. And when there, he could say and do whatever he chose; but never risked his popularity by carelessness or presumption; and never once descended to the vulgarity of pleasing, by any thing unbecoming a counsel of the highest character and the best taste." Vol. i. pp. 143 – 145.

Jeffrey was admitted to the bar in 1794; and his progress was so slow, that, seven years afterwards, he remarked that his professional gains had never amounted to £100 a year. The rise of a young lawyer, either in Scotland or England, is never rapid, unless favored by government patronage or strong family connections; and Jeffrey's fortunes were obstructed by his liberal views in politics. Quick-witted, ambitious, and impatient, he vainly chafed the bit and curvetted in harness; no avenue was open to him on which he could show his speed

and powers of endurance. Once he had a vision of abandoning the law, and becoming a Grub Street writer in London; but fortunately, neither the newspaper editors nor the publishers would give him any encouragement. Then he became a candidate for a professorship in the University of Edinburgh; but the small body of electors, governed only by personal considerations and party influence, hardly noticed his claims, and gave the office, in hot haste, to a mere drone, the son of the former incumbent. Meanwhile, the briefless lawyer had fallen in love with a dowerless maiden, and in November, 1801, he bravely married her, though his income hardly exceeded five hundred dollars a year. The step was saved from the charge of imprudence only by his good sense and resolute economy. He had, all his life, a horror of falling into debt. His bride, Catharine Wilson, an amiable and affectionate girl, consented to begin her married life with him in a few rooms of the third story of a mean house, which he furnished and rendered comfortable at an expense of less than fifty pounds. Such firmness of principle made his marriage even a means of his advancement, as it saved him from the temptations of an idle and single life, gave pledges to fortune, and bound him with a more resolute purpose to industry and patience. The match was a very happy one, though it gave him no children. But Mrs. Jeffrey inherited a delicate constitution, and a sudden attack carried her off in less than four years after her marriage. "It is impossible," wrote the bereaved husband to his brother, "to describe to you the feeling of lonely and hopeless misery with which I have since been oppressed. After four years of marriage, I was more tenderly attached to her than on the day which made her mine. I took no interest in any thing which had not some reference to her, and had no enjoyment away from her except in thinking what I should have to tell or to show her on my return; and I have never returned to her, after half a day's absence, without feeling my heart throb and my eye brighten, with all the ardor and anxiety of a youthful passion."

Lord Cockburn gives an animated picture of the arrogant and exclusive dominion of the Tories in Edinburgh fifty years ago, and of the complete subjugation of the

whole country to their influence. It was no slight proof of gallantry and firmness of principle to profess Whiggism as openly and ardently as it was then professed by Jeffrey and a small band of his youthful friends. Scotland in those days had hardly any of the benefits of a free constitution. Her law, wanting several of the most important safeguards of liberty which are the boast of the English Common Law, held up the terrors of imprisonment and transportation to repress the utterance of obnoxious opinions. Muir and Palmer were convicted of sedition and transported for avowing sentiments less free and liberal than would now surprise any one, if uttered by a Prime Minister in Parliament, or contained in a speech from the throne. Frightened by the excesses of French Jacobinism, the people blindly submitted to a despotism scarcely less odious than that of the Stuarts. A Whig was regarded as a foe to the monarchy, and even as a possible regicide; and he was not only shut out from office and emolument, but in a great measure was put under the ban of good society. Lord Dundas ruled Scotland like a Persian satrap; the extent of government patronage and influence was enormous, and the disposal of the whole of it was in his hands. Parliamentary representation was a mere farce; the thirty members for the Scotch counties were chosen by less than 2,000 electors; the fifteen burgesses were returned by the town-councils, not one of which contained more than thirty three persons, and which were close and self-perpetuating corporations. Of course, the return of a single liberal member for any part of Scotland was a phenomenon which surprised everybody, and a result due only to chance or some temporary cause. "Thus, politically, Scotland was dead. It was not unlike a village at a great man's gate. Without a single free institution or habit, opposition was rebellion, submission probable success." Discontent lurked in many quarters; but the grumblers were a feeble party, cowed and irresolute. They had no organ, no concert, and little hope.

This torpor was broken, as by the ringing of an alarm-bell, through the establishment of the Edinburgh Review. Its publication was the basis of Jeffrey's fortune at the bar, as well as in literary standing, and in political and

social life. The vigor and ability displayed in the management of the Review, the power of reasoning and keen analysis with which its bold assertions were maintained, the dexterity with which it wielded all the arms of invective, ridicule, and argument, and its skilful development of the principles of the constitution naturally drew attention to the professional capacity of its editor, and gradually swelled the amount of his practice. He emerged at once from the obscurity which is the great obstacle to a young man's success. No longer shunned or slighted in general society, his presence was courted in fashionable circles, and acquaintance with him was deemed an honor even by political opponents. He had the good sense not to allow his literary success to withdraw his attention from professional pursuits, or even to usurp the first place in his esteem; and hence his rise was steady and rapid to a leading position at the bar. This was the wisest course for his personal interest; yet the world could better have spared his labors as an advocate than as a writer.

At the outset, no emolument was expected from the Review. The first three numbers were given to the publisher, Jeffrey and his friends working only in expectation of the results to be produced on public opinion, and not binding themselves to any long continuance of their services. But Constable was a liberal and enterprising publisher, and he soon accepted Sidney Smith's advice, to pay the editor £200 a year, and ten guineas a sheet for contributions. After the work obtained, as it soon did, an immense circulation, the editor's salary was much enlarged, and writers received from sixteen to twenty five guineas a sheet. Occasionally, one or two hundred pounds were paid for a single article. The chief contributors used to meet secretly in a dining-room near the printing-office, where they corrected proofs, and held solemn consultation on projected and finished articles. Jeffrey charges Sidney Smith with being the most timid member of the confederacy, as he insisted that their meetings should be kept very private, and tried to exclude one, probably Brougham, whose indiscretion and rashness he feared, though all the others ardently desired him as an associate. Among the earlier writers, besides those whom

we have already mentioned, were the two Thomsons, John Murray, Lord Webb Seymour, and Dr. Thomas Brown; Malthus, Playfair, Hallam, Mackintosh, and Macaulay were later recruits.

Jeffrey had his full share of the vexations and miseries, as well as the pleasures, of an editor. His anxiety was first awakened by the departure of many associates, the chief props of the Review, from Edinburgh, to push their fortunes in England. Horner and Sidney Smith left in a year or two, Brougham soon followed them; Allan went abroad with Lord Holland, and Dr. Brown seceded in a pet. Most of these promised to continue their contributions, and many actually did so; but when the Review and its editor were out of sight, they were apt to be out of mind, and the delinquents could not be so easily dunned at a distance. Jeffrey begged and scolded, but to little purpose, and was often compelled to use his own pen in great haste, to fill the gaps left by faithless correspondents. Horner seems to have tried his patience most in this way, and very few of the others could be depended upon for an emergency. The editor's own versatility, quickness, and general knowledge were severely taxed, till the Review had obtained so much celebrity and influence as to attract a crowd of volunteers. Then offence had to be given by refusing many articles, and by slashing alterations in others. Frequently, a wounded author would attempt to retaliate or appeal, and faint or modified praise cooled or dissolved many old attachments. Sometimes, a pamphleteer or a poet deemed himself personally insulted, and demanded satisfaction as a gentleman. Jeffrey found it necessary to meet Tom Moore with pistols at Chalk Farm; but the police came up before they had an opportunity to fire them. No vanity is so irritable or so unbounded as that of an authorling.

Jeffrey's course, on the whole, was manly and firm; and many, who at first deemed themselves much aggrieved, and had therefore attempted to retort with great severity, afterwards came to acknowledge and admire his honorable conduct. He would not abate one jot of strict literary justice, to please or soothe the dearest friend he had in the world. In conducting the Review, and especially

in writing for it, he considered himself as a sworn witness upon the stand, or as a gentleman bound by every tie of honor not to keep back any material circumstance, or to practise any deception. His private relations, his personal attachments and dislikes, had nothing to do with his literary censorship, any more than with the conduct of a judge on the bench. When he thought it likely that his criticism of the work of an intimate friend would give offence, he would forward to him the sheets of the article before publication, so that he might have time to consider the matter, and make up his mind whether to be angry and withdraw from future intercourse, or not. Having weighed the consequences and fully considered his words beforehand, he would never retract or apologize. Walter Scott differed widely from him in politics, dissented from many of his canons of taste, and had often been galled by his criticisms; but he continued steadfastly to describe him as "my friend Jeffrey, for such, in spite of many a feud, literary and political, I always esteem him." Byron, who was as sensitive and irritable as Scott was placable and good-humored, bore equally explicit testimony to the frank and honorable qualities of the great Reviewer.

After he had become an old man, and when it appeared probable that a selection from his articles in the Review would be made and published here in America without his consent, Jeffrey himself revised them, and allowed about a third part of the whole number to be reprinted. The volumes thus formed are entertaining and instructive. They form an important contribution to the history of English literature during the first quarter of the present century; perhaps they constitute such a history, for hardly any important work or series of works was published during that period which is not formally considered in them. And the judgments passed have a greater historical value because they were formed at the time, and published so soon after the appearance of the books to which they relate, that no time was allowed to rectify and adapt them to a taste subsequently developed. Yet they are by no means a mere reflex of the popular favor or dislike at the moment. Jeffrey often dissented from the judgment of the mass of his contemporaries, often attempted successfully to lead or modify it. The opinion

which he endeavored to express was that of the thoughtful and educated few, rather than of the clamorous multitude. He guarded himself very successfully against any eccentric peculiarities of taste or feeling, any personal or political partiality. Of course, we are speaking now only of his literary judgments; the statement of his political views, when political discussion was his object, is explicit and earnest enough to satisfy the most zealous partisan. But take him in the proper sphere of a reviewer only of the literary merits of books; take his criticisms of Scott, Byron, Moore, Southey, Crabbe, Keats, Rogers, Dugald Stewart, Beattie, Miss Edgeworth, Lockhart, Wilson, Washington Irving, Heber, Clarkson, Bentham, Dumont, and a host of others, representing all varieties of political attachment, speculative opinion, and personal character, and with whom he lived in all degrees of personal intimacy, or of no intimacy at all. Take these, with the estimates of their literary faults and merits, and it would be impossible to discover, from the most diligent scrutiny and comparison of them one with another, what Jeffrey's own political or personal predilections were. He exposes the faults of friends and the merits of opponents with equal and great frankness.

We place stress upon Jeffrey's obvious impartiality as a critic, though it may seem only a negative merit, for it is certainly a very rare one, — even more rare in our own day than it was forty years ago. Periodicals nowadays make hardly any pretension to it. Excessive timidity and fearfulness of giving offence reduce most of what should be literary criticism to vague generalities or indiscriminate laudations, when rabid political partisanship does not transform it into hideous caricature. We hear no candid estimates of books except in the familiarity and confidence of private intercourse; we talk what we dare not print. The fearless candor of the Edinburgh Review, quite as much as its general literary ability, was the secret of its early and brilliant success. Its power and efficiency were proportionally increased by the same cause. The Tory exulted in the praise he had won from the great tribunal of his political opponents; the ignorant and presumptuous Whig was extinguished by a laughing or scarifying notice in the very journal to which he had

looked for sympathy and encouragement. Dr. Parr was a strenuous Whig; but Sidney Smith turned the laugh of all England against him, in the first number of the Edinburgh Review, by running an elaborate parallel between the Doctor's Spital Sermon and its author's enormous wig. The Earl of Lauderdale stood high in the councils of the liberal party, and became minister for Scotland in the short-lived administration which the Whigs formed in 1806; but he had been made, as Jeffrey said, "delightfully pert and angry" by a severe criticism of his work on Public Wealth in an early number of the Review, to which he had replied in a spiteful pamphlet; and he therefore took no notice of Jeffrey while dispensing the enormous patronage of the crown in the northern part of the island, though no writer had done more service in bringing his party into power.

One of Jeffrey's great qualifications for his task as a general critic was his entire freedom from any obliquities of taste or feeling, or any pet theory in poetry and philosophy. He was not a one-sided man, not a visionary, not a theorist; the substratum of his intellectual character was broad, vigorous good sense. His appeal was made to common sense and common feeling, — to the unsophisticated judgments, not indeed of the ignorant multitude, but of the great body of reading and thinking men, among whom individual peculiarities are lost and swept away in the prevailing current which sets steadily in one direction. Hence he never aimed at startling novelties in opinion, or even at paradoxes in expression. His strength lay in the ingenuity and acuteness with which he set forth the general verdict, together with the reasons on which it depended, and in the vivacity and sparkle of his style. He could afford to deal in common thoughts and obvious criticisms, for no one ever dressed them up to so great advantage. The reader recognized in them his own familiar opinion so well expressed and so ingeniously supported that he hardly recognized it; or if he did, he only chuckled at his own acuteness in anticipating the judgment of the infallible Review. Therefore, while individual authors winced or yelped, the great public smiled approvingly. Jeffrey's admirable tact was as perceptible in the general conduct of the work, as in his

own contributions to its pages. His "journeymen," or, as he sometimes more condescendingly called them, the barons over whom he was only a feudal monarch, were not allowed to bend the Review to their purposes or their whims, or to stamp upon it too obviously their own idiosyncracies. Jeffrey ruled them good-humoredly, but never forgot that, as the editor alone was fairly responsible for all that was said in the work, he was necessarily an autocrat.

In the volumes of the reprint, Jeffrey's selected articles are arranged under seven heads: General Literature and Literary Biography, History and Historical Memoirs, Poetry, Metaphysics and Jurisprudence, Prose Works of Fiction, General Politics, and Miscellaneous. Here is good evidence of versatility at least, as we find it difficult to say which of the divisions could best be spared; and certainly not one of them could be suppressed without injury to the writer's fame. Under the first head are found the celebrated essay on the Principles of Taste, afterwards inserted as a dissertation on Beauty in the Encyclopedia Britannica, and his masterly analysis of the literary and political character of Dean Swift. As much as it was in Jeffrey's frank and affectionate nature to hate anybody, he hated Swift, regarding him as a profligate politician, a scurrilous libeller, a priest whose life disgraced his calling, and a destroyer of the peace, if not the murderer, of two innocent and lovely women. The singular history and eccentric character of Swift had rendered posterity too lenient in its estimate of his flagitious conduct, and the Tories had even striven hard to make a hero and a martyr of him. The appearance of a magnificent edition of his works, ably edited by Scott, with an apologetic memoir prefixed, aroused Jeffrey's indignation; and he undertook to show up, in their true colors, the life and the character of the man, to whose memory these honors were paid. Never was task more faithfully performed; there is not a more terrible instance of the infliction of literary and political justice in English literature. Even Macaulay's magnificent invective against Barrére, though written with a more avowed purpose of severity, looks pale by its side. We make a brief extract from this article, as characteristic of Jeffrey's

best manner; it is a portion of the criticism of Swift's political writings.

"They are very extraordinary performances: And, considered with a view to the purpose for which they were intended, have probably never been equalled in any period of the world. They are written with great plainness, force, and intrepidity — advance at once to the matter in dispute — give battle to the strength of the enemy, and never seek any kind of advantage from darkness or obscurity. Their distinguishing feature, however, is the force and the vehemence of the invective in which they abound; — the copiousness, the steadiness, the perseverance, and the dexterity with which abuse and ridicule are showered upon the adversary. This, we think, was, beyond all doubt, Swift's great talent, and the weapon by which he made himself formidable. He was, without exception, the greatest and the most efficient *libeller* that ever exercised the trade; and possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications which it requires: — a clear head — a cold heart — a vindictive temper — no admiration of noble qualities — no sympathy with suffering — not much conscience — not much consistency — a ready wit — a sarcastic humor — a thorough knowledge of the baser parts of human nature — and a complete familiarity with every thing that is low, homely, and familiar in language. These were his gifts; — and he soon felt for what ends they were given. Almost all his works are libels; generally upon individuals, sometimes upon sects and parties, sometimes upon human nature. Whatever be his end, however, personal abuse, direct, vehement, unsparing invective, is his means. It is his sword and his shield, his panoply and his chariot of war. In all his writings, accordingly, there is nothing to raise or exalt our notions of human nature, — but every thing to vilify and degrade. We may learn from them, perhaps, to dread the consequences of base actions, but never to love the feelings that lead to generous ones. There is no spirit, indeed, of love or of humor in any part of them; but an unvaried and harassing display of insolence and animosity in the writer, and villany and folly in those of whom he is writing. Though a great polemic, he makes no use of general principles, nor ever enlarges his views to a wide or comprehensive conclusion. Every thing is particular with him, and for the most part, strictly personal. To make amends, however, we do think him quite without a competitor in personalities. With a quick and sagacious spirit, and a bold and popular manner, he joins an exact knowledge of all the strong and the weak parts of every cause he has to manage; and, without the least restraint from delicacy, either of taste or of feeling, he seems always to think the most effectual blows the most advisable, and no advantage

unlawful that is likely to be successful for the moment. Disregarding all the laws of polished hostility, he uses, at one and the same moment, his sword and his poisoned dagger — his hands and his teeth, and his envenomed breath, — and does not even scruple, upon occasion, to imitate his own yahoos, by discharging on his unhappy victims a shower of filth, from which neither courage nor dexterity can afford any protection. Against such an antagonist, it was, of course, at no time very easy to make head; and accordingly his invective seems, for the most part, to have been as much dreaded, and as tremendous as the personal ridicule of Voltaire. Both were inexhaustible, well-directed, and unsparing; but even when Voltaire drew blood, he did not mangle the victim, and was only mischievous when Swift was brutal. Any one who will compare the epigrams on M. Franc de Pompignan with those on Tighe or Bettesworth, will easily understand the distinction." pp. 86, 87.

The essay on Beauty, and the articles on various subjects connected with the Philosophy of Mind, are enough to prove, that, if it had been Jeffrey's fortune in early life to obtain a professor's chair in this department, — and no appointment would have been more welcome to him, — he might have equalled or surpassed the fame of Dugald Stewart or Dr. Reid. More acute in analysis and original in opinion than the former, and more varied and elegant in dissertation than the latter, he would probably have vindicated for himself a place in the front rank, if not as the very head, of the Scotch school of philosophy. Yet we cannot regret that fortune ordered it otherwise; the sphere which he actually filled was that in which he exerted the broadest and most beneficial effect upon the minds of his countrymen, though his writings are more ephemeral in character than they would have been, had he devoted his powers to a single pursuit.

The even tenor of Jeffrey's life was broken, in 1813, by a voyage to this country, undertaken for the purpose of bringing home, as his second wife, Miss Charlotte Wilkes, whose father, a nephew of the celebrated John Wilkes, was a banker in New York. He had become acquainted with the lady three years before, when she visited Scotland in company with M. Simond, the French traveller, and his wife, who was Miss Wilkes's aunt. A mutual attachment followed, and the lady having returned to her home, it became necessary for Jeffrey to earn her hand

by a voyage across the Atlantic. This was no ordinary trial of his affection, as he had a nervous dread of the sea, and intercourse between the two countries was then rendered difficult by the war. But love laughs at such obstacles, and Jeffrey's resolution was soon taken. He arrived at New York, in a cartel, early in October, was married the following month, and set sail upon his return in the latter part of January, 1814. The visit, and the connection which was the object of it, seem to have had a favorable effect upon his opinion of the country and its institutions and inhabitants. He appears, indeed, always to have cherished a kindly feeling in this respect; and though the Review was witty, flippant, and contemptuous in its notice of Barlow's Columbiad, and some other ponderous American publications, the luckless authors had no right to convert their private wrongs into causes of national complaint. We do not think they would have fared much better, if they had been of British origin. On graver occasions, Jeffrey's language was eminently courteous and conciliatory. One of his ablest and most elaborate articles was a review of Mr. Walsh's celebrated, but rather heavy "Appeal," to which, when included among his republished contributions, he prefixed the following note, giving a fair indication of its tone and purpose.

"There is no one feeling — having public concerns for its object — with which I have been so long and so deeply impressed, as that of the vast importance of our maintaining friendly, and even cordial relations, with the free, powerful, moral, and industrious States of America: — a condition upon which I cannot help thinking that not only our own freedom and prosperity, but that of the better part of the world, will ultimately be found to be more and more dependent. I give the first place, therefore, in this concluding division of the work, to an earnest and somewhat importunate exhortation to this effect — which I believe produced some impression at the time, and I trust may still help forward the good end to which it was directed." p. 621.

During his stay in this country, Jeffrey visited some of our principal cities, and while at Washington, had two curious interviews, one with Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of State, and the other with President Madison. His account of the conversation which then took place be-

tween them seems in the main a fair one, though he had evidently some misapprehension of the nature of Mr. Madison's position, and of the degree of reserve respecting certain subjects which it imposed upon him, when he characterizes one remark as a "sort of challenge to discussion, thrown out *by a sovereign to a private individual* in his own drawing room." It is no affectation on the part of an American President to avoid the airs of "a sovereign," on all occasions; and when a respectable foreigner pays him a visit of mere civility, it is no violation of good taste to receive him on the same footing on which any private gentleman receives another, and to converse with him with equal freedom. Any official stiffness or reserve, under such circumstances, would be unseasonable. As to the choice of the particular topic of conversation, which was, indeed, an awkward one, we cannot help suspecting that Jeffrey, who had the reputation, in his own country, of being a little eager, petulant, and disputatious in his talk in general society, and who, according to his own account, was well "posted up" on the subject, had quite as much to do with it as Mr. Madison. But our readers shall judge by hearing his own story.

"He had gone to the secretary to learn whether there was any hope of his obtaining a cartel for his return to Britain. After being promised every possible accommodation, the conversation was drawn on by Mr. Monroe to the war, its provocations, principles, and probable results; and particularly to the right claimed by England of searching American vessels for the recovery of British subjects. These were matters with which Jeffrey was probably as familiar as even the able and official person with whom he was talking; because the rights of neutrals had been more than once discussed in the Review, and in at least one article by Jeffrey himself; and, in so far as the right of searching *ships of war* for British deserters or subjects was involved, the principles there maintained were strongly against the English claim. But though not satisfied of the existence of the right claimed, he seems to have thought that it would be paltry not to stand by his country, before an enemy who had him in his power. Accordingly, he took the side of Britain during an animated, though politely conducted argument, which, after lasting a long time one day, was renewed the next.

"After this, but on the same day, (18th November, 1813,) he had the honor of dining with the President, when he had another

discussion with him. By the advice of the secretary, he took occasion, when he was about to retire, to thank his excellency for the indulgence he had met with in the matter of the cartel. 'This was received in a composed, civil way; and then his excellency proceeded to say that it was the wish of his government to set an example of the utmost liberality in every thing, and to prove to the world that nothing but absolute necessity should ever induce them to adopt those principles of warfare which had been directed against them. I said I trusted the English nation stood in need of no lessons in these particulars, and that in her present unfortunate hostilities with America, would show the same spirit of generosity which had distinguished even her most impolitic wars. He took up this a little warmly, and said that the way in which she had attacked the defenceless villages, threatened the citizens with the fate of traitors, and broken off the agreements entered into by their own agents as to the exchange of prisoners, did not say much for their spirit of generosity, and that the very pretence in which the war originated, the obstinacy and insolence with which all satisfaction had been refused, and the extraordinary form in which negotiation was ultimately offered, could leave little doubt on any impartial mind as to the temper by which it was carried on on the part of England. I was a little surprised at this sort of challenge to discussion, thrown out by a sovereign to a private individual in his own drawing-room. I felt, however, that it was not my part to decline it; and being somewhat *au fait* of the matter by my discussion with the secretary, I did not hesitate to accept. We entered accordingly upon a discussion which lasted nearly two hours, and embraced all the topics which I had gone over with Mr. M.; very nearly upon the same grounds, and to the same results; though maintained on the part of the President with rather more caution and reserve, more shyness as to concessions, and a tone considerably more acrimonious toward England; though perfectly civil, and even courteous to myself.'" Vol. i. pp. 179, 180.

Jeffrey's second marriage, like his first, was an eminently fortunate one; he and his wife lived together in uninterrupted happiness and affection for thirty-seven years, and after only a few months of separation, they rested in the same tomb. Children and grand-children were born to them, and the light which was thus added to their home never went out or grew dim. Jeffrey nowhere appears to greater advantage than at his own fireside, or when romping with his children on the lawn. His joyous, playful, and expansive nature was not chilled

or cramped by the advance of years, or by the anxieties of ambitious and money-getting pursuits. His fortune steadily increased by the gains of his profession and of literature, and was never embarked on hazardous enterprises. He bought an estate a few miles out of Edinburgh, called Craigcrook, which was at first of very moderate extent and pretensions; but successive purchases and improvements, slowly effected, through a long period of years, raised it at last to a point which enabled him to take some rank among the landed proprietors of the neighborhood. But the *earth-hunger*, which is an epidemic disease among his countrymen, and which was fatal to Scott, never added to his responsibilities or disturbed his dreams. Yet he had a keen eye for the beauties of nature, and his enjoyment of fine scenery was among the most constant of his pleasures. What he so much relished, he could vividly describe. The most entertaining portions of his essay on Beauty, are the short descriptive passages which are introduced to illustrate his doctrine. The characteristic differences between English and American scenery were never more happily hit off than in the following extract from a familiar letter, to his father-in-law, in New York. It was written from Mardocks, the seat of Sir James Mackintosh.

"Would you like to know what old England is like? and in what it most differs from America? Mostly, I think, in the visible memorials of antiquity with which it is overspread; the superior beauty of its verdure, and the more tasteful and happy state and distribution of its woods. Every thing around you here is *historical*, and leads to romantic or interesting recollections. Gray-grown church towers, cathedrals, ruined abbeys, castles of all sizes and descriptions, in all stages of decay, from those that are inhabited to those in whose moats ancient trees are growing, and ivy mantling over their mouldered fragments. Within sight of this house, for instance, there are the remains of the palace of Hunsden, where Queen Elizabeth passed her childhood, and Theobalds, where King James had his hunting-seat, and the *Rye-house*, where Rumbold's plot was laid, and which is still occupied by a maltster — such is the permanency of habits and professions in this ancient country. Then there are two gigantic oak stumps, with a few fresh branches still, which are said to have been planted by Edward the III., and massive stone bridges over lazy

waters; and churches that look as old as Christianity; and beautiful groups of branch trees; and a verdure like nothing else in the universe; and all the cottages and lawns fragrant with sweetbrier and violets, and glowing with purple lilacs and white elders; and antique villages scattering round wide bright greens; with old trees and ponds, and a massive pair of oaken stocks preserved from the days of Alfred. With you every thing is new, and glaring, and angular, and withal rather frail, slight, and perishable; nothing soft, and mellow, and venerable, or that looks as if it would ever become so. I will not tell you about Scotland after this. It has not these characters of ancient wealth and population, but beauties of another kind, which you must come and see." Vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

Lord Cockburn has published but a small portion of Jeffrey's correspondence. His old political friends and associates in the Review appear to have been very chary about admitting the public to the secrets of their intercourse. We find a few letters to Horner, but none to Brougham, none to Smith, none to Allen. The few that are published throw light rather upon Jeffrey's private life and domestic character, than upon his literary or political relations. They are careless effusions, are written with great heartiness and vivacity, but do not contain much anecdote or material for gossip. Some entertaining passages may be gleaned from them. The writer certainly was in no danger of catching the disease which he here attributes to the Quakers.

"Did you ever hear that most of the Quakers die of stupidity — actually and literally? I was assured of the fact the other day by a very intelligent physician who practised twenty years among them, and informs me that few of the richer sort live to be fifty, but die of a sort of atrophy, their cold blood just stagnating by degrees among their flabby fat. They eat too much, he says, take little exercise, and, above all, have no nervous excitement. The affection is known in this part of the country by the name of *the Quaker's disease*, and more than one half of them go out so." Vol. ii. pp. 116, 117.

Here are some liberal speculations in politics, thrown into a private letter in 1818, which the lapse of years has already done much to verify.

"If I were free to move, I rather think that, after a hasty glance at Italy, I should be tempted to take another and far more

leisurely survey of America. You, of course, would be my main attraction; but I cannot help taking a very warm and eager interest in the fortunes of your people. There is nothing, and never was any thing, so grand and so promising as the condition and prospects of your country; and nothing I conceive more certain than that, in seventy years after this, its condition will be by far the most important element in the history of Europe. It is very provoking that we cannot live to see it; but it is very plain to me that the French revolution, or rather perhaps the continued operation of the causes which produced that revolution, has laid the foundations, over all Europe, of an inextinguishable and fatal struggle between popular rights and ancient establishments — between democracy and tyranny — between legitimacy and representative government, which may involve the world in sanguinary conflicts for fifty years, and *may* also end, after all, in the establishment of a brutal and military despotism for a hundred more; but *must* end, I think, in the triumph of reason over prejudice, and the infinite amelioration of all politics, and the elevation of all national character. Now I cannot help thinking that the example of America, and the influence and power which she will every year be more and more able to exert, will have a most potent and incalculably beneficial effect, both in shortening this conflict, in rendering it less sanguinary, and in insuring and accelerating its happy termination. I take it for granted that America, either as one or as many states, will always remain free, and consequently prosperous and powerful. She will naturally take the side of liberty therefore in the great European contest — and while her growing power and means of compulsion will intimidate its opponents, the example not only of the practicability, but of the eminent advantages, of a system of perfect freedom, and a disdain and objuration of all prejudices, cannot fail to incline the great body of all intelligent communities to its voluntary adoption." Vol. ii. pp. 148, 149.

Jeffrey was accused of a want of feeling and of true appreciation of poetry, in his published review of the life and genius of Burns. But he did not write coldly about him in a letter to his son-in-law, dated in 1837.

"In the last week, I have read all *Burns's* Life and Works — not without many tears, for the life especially. What touches me most is the pitiable poverty in which that gifted being (and his noble-minded father) passed his early days — the painful frugality to which their innocence was doomed, and the thought how small a share of the useless luxuries in which *we* (such comparatively poor creatures) indulge, would have sufficed to shed joy and

cheerfulness in their dwellings, and perhaps to have saved that glorious spirit from the trials and temptations under which he fell so prematurely. Oh, my dear Empson, there must be something *terribly* wrong in the present arrangements of the universe, when those things can happen and be thought natural. I could lie down in the dirt, and cry and grovel there, I think, for a century, to save such a soul as Burns from the suffering, and the contamination, and the *degradation*, which these same arrangements imposed upon him; and I fancy that, if I could but have known him, in my present state of wealth and influence, I might have saved, and reclaimed, and preserved him, even to the present day. He would not have been so old as my brother judge, Lord Glenlee, or Lord Lynedoch, or a dozen others that one meets daily in society. And what a creature, not only in genius, but in nobleness of character; potentially, at least, if right models had been put *gently* before him. But we must not dwell on it. You south Saxons cannot value him rightly, and miss half the pathos and more than half the sweetness. There is no such mistake as that your chief miss is in the *humor* or the shrewd sense. It is in far higher and more delicate elements — God help you! We shall be up to the whole, I trust, in another world. When I think of *his* position, I have no feeling for the *ideal* poverty of your Wordsworths and Coleridges; comfortable, flattered, very spoiled, capricious, idle beings, fantastically discontented because they cannot make an easy tour to Italy, and buy casts and cameos; and what poor, peddling, whining drivellers in comparison with him! But I will have no uncharity. They, too, should have been richer." Vol. ii. pp. 231, 232.

Mr. Macaulay had written a letter to state his reasons for preferring a literary to a political life, — a determination which might have been weighed more carefully, if it had not been formed immediately after the failure of his attempt to be elected to Parliament from the city of Edinburgh. A copy of this letter was forwarded to Jeffrey, who thus comments upon it, in a reply directed to Mr. Empson.

"It is a very striking and interesting letter; and certainly puts the *pros* and *cons* as to public life in a powerful way for the latter. But, after all, will either human motives or human duties ever bear such a dissection? and should we not all become Houhnynyms or Quakers, and selfish, cowardly fellows, if we were to act on views so systematic? Who would ever have any thing to do with love or war, — nay, who would venture himself on the sea, or on a galloping horse, if he were to calculate in this way the

chances of shortening life or forfeiting comfort by such venturesome doings? And is there not a vocation in the gifts which fit us for particular stations to which it is a duty to listen? Addison and Gibbon did well to write, because they *could* not speak in public. But is that any rule for M.? And then as to the tranquillity of an author's life, I confess I have no sort of faith in it, and am sure that as eloquent a picture might be drawn of its cares, and fears, and mortifications, its feverish anxieties, humiliating rivalries and jealousies, and heart-sinking exhaustion, as he has set before us of a statesman. And as to fame, if an author's is now and then more lasting, it is generally longer withheld, and, except in a few rare cases, it is of a less pervading or elevating description. A great poet, or great *original* writer, is above all other glory. But who would give much for such a glory as Gibbon's. Besides, I believe it is in the inward glow and pride of consciously influencing the great destinies of mankind, much more than in the sense of personal reputation, that the delight of either poet or statesman chiefly consists. Shakspeare plainly cared nothing about his glory, and Milton referred it to other ages. And, after all, why not be *both* statesmen and authors, like Burke and Clarendon." Vol. ii. pp. 235, 236.

Jeffrey talked so well and so much himself, that he was rather annoyed occasionally when he met Mr. Macaulay in society, and was absolutely carried away by the flood of that gentleman's voluble discourse. The following is his groan under one of these inflictions: "Dined at Stephen's, with Macaulay and Mounteagle; and how Macaulay exceeded his ordinary excess in talk, and how I could scarcely keep him from pure soliloquy, and how Lord M. fell fairly asleep, and our Platonic host himself *nodded* his applause!" In truth, the brilliant historian seems not infrequently to have transformed himself into what a wit once described as "a tremendous engine of colloquial oppression." Jeffrey's own conversational talent obtained the praise of one of the greatest masters of the art that ever lived. As early as 1812, Sir James Mackintosh thus described him: — "We saw, for the first time, Playfair and Jeffrey; the first a person very remarkable for understanding, calmness, and simplicity; the second more lively, fertile, and brilliant than any Scotchman of letters — with more imagery and illustration added to the knowledge and argumentative powers of his country — and more sure than any native of his island

whom I have seen, to have had splendid success in the literary societies of Paris."

Jeffrey's active career as a politician was neither a long nor a brilliant one, though his course was manly and consistent throughout. He was fifty-seven years old, when the formation of Earl Grey's ministry, and his own appointment by universal consent as Lord Advocate, caused him to obtain a seat in Parliament. One is seldom very successful in a new and trying career that is commenced so late in life. He made one long and able speech during the memorable discussion of the first Reform bill, and it was praised by the critics, though it produced little effect in the House. It was comprehensive and general in its views, and entered too deeply into the philosophy of reform, to harmonize with the practical character of debates in the Commons. Cautious and moderate in his opinions, taking that wide grasp of the subject which necessarily brings into notice the difficulties with which a measure is environed, as well as the advantages that are to be expected from it, the speech was not ardent and uncompromising enough to suit the excited feelings of the Reformers. Mackintosh, whose own temperament inclined more to philosophical disquisition than to parliamentary debate, gave it high praise; he said it was "not quite so debating and parliamentary, but was quite as remarkable for argument and eloquence," as Macaulay's or Stanley's. Its effect on delivery was impaired by a complaint in the throat, which made Jeffrey dread the physical effort of speaking. This was, probably, one reason why he did not afterwards take any conspicuous part in debate, though he had a great deal of labor to perform in preparing the Scotch Reform bill, and superintending it in its passage through the House.

Some extracts from the letters which he wrote home from London, during his first parliamentary campaign, are interesting.

"Giving an account of the second night's debate on the second reading of the English bill, he says: 'No division last night, as I predicted, and not a very striking debate. A curious series of prepared speeches, by men who do not speak regularly, and *far* better expressed than nine tenths of the good speeches, but languid and inefficient from the air of preparation, and the want of

nature and authority with which they were spoken. There was but one exception, and it was a brilliant one. I mean *Macaulay*, who surpassed his former appearance in closeness, fire, and vigor, and very much improved the effect of it by a more steady and graceful delivery. It was prodigiously cheered, as it deserved, and I think puts him clearly at the head of the great speakers, if not the debaters, of the House.' 'I once meant to have said something, but I now think it impossible. Besides, Mackintosh and Macaulay have taken all my ideas, and I cannot stoop to reclaim them; but we shall see. It is very hot, though very beautiful; and would be the most delicious weather in the world at Craigcrook, or Loch Lomond, to which last region I wander oftenest in my dreams. We have not been very dissipated lately. We were at a grand party at the Staffords' the other night, and I have had two or three more cabinet dinners. The most agreeable are Lord Grey's, where there are always ladies, and we were very gay there last Sunday. I am still as much in love with Althorpe and most of his colleagues, as ever, and feel proud and delighted with their frankness, cheerfulness, and sweet-blooded courage.' — (6th July, 1831.)

"He frequently met with Mr. Wordsworth this spring; and as some people fancy that he had a rude unkindness toward all the Lakers, it is proper to mention that Wordsworth and he, whenever they happened to be in each other's company, were apparently friends. There was certainly no want of friendly feeling on Jeffrey's part; nor, it is to be hoped, on Mr. Wordsworth's, though possibly it was somewhat chilled by the recollection of what he may have supposed to be past injustice. But if he had any such thoughts, he had too much kindness and politeness to show them. In a letter to Mrs. Echersall, (27th March, 1831,) Jeffrey says: 'I dined yesterday at Mackintosh's, with Wordsworth, the poet, and Shiel, the Irish orator, and several other remarkable persons. Wordsworth and I were great friends. He and Empson and I stayed two good hours after everybody else had gone, and did not come home till near two.' Giving an account of the same meeting in another letter, he says: 'Did I tell you that I met Wordsworth at Mackintosh's last week, and talked with him in a party of four till two in the morning? He is not in the very least Lakish now, or even in any degree poetical, but rather a hard and a sensible worldly sort of a man.'

"Nobody seems to have struck him with such admiration as Lord Althorpe. 'There is something to me quite delightful in his calm, clumsy, courageous, immutable, probity and well-meaning, and it seems to have a charm for everybody.'" Vol. i. pp. 250 – 252.

It was a welcome release when, in 1833, a vacancy occurred on the bench of the Court of Session, and Jeffrey, being entitled, as Lord Advocate, to the succession, became a Judge and a titular Lord, and turned his back forever on parliament and politics. He wrote to Lord Cockburn, "I have just taken my last peep into that turbulent, potent, heart-stirring House of Commons, and finished an hour ago the last argument I shall ever deliver from any bar. There is something sad in these finalities, and my present feeling is of that character; but through this dimness, I see a bright vision of leisure, reason, and happiness."

The vision was in great part realized; a quiet and happy old age awaited him, broken by no domestic calamity that was not to be expected in the course of nature, and not clouded by any vain expectations or regrets. His official duties were not burdensome, and left him long periods of leisure; his fortune and income were large, and his health and spirits remained unbroken till he was far advanced in years. He usually spent the spring of every year in London or its neighborhood; the autumn at Craigcrook, and the winter in Edinburgh. "His spare time, whether during his sittings or in vacation, was given to society, to correspondence, to walking, to lounging in his garden, and to the gratification of his appetite for reading." His literary ambition appears to have been satiated; he wrote but three articles for the Review after he became a Judge, and these were on subjects which could not stir any angry feeling. They were reviews of the Memoirs of Sir James Mackintosh, of Wilberforce's Correspondence, and of the Watt and Cavendish controversy respecting the discovery of the composition of water. His friends urged him to undertake some elaborate original work, something which would preserve his name longer than could be expected from his eminence as a periodical essayist. Many years before, Horner had written to him, "You must, some day or other, bring your thoughts on the philosophy of poetry and poetic expression into the form of a systematic essay, which I shall insist on your publishing with much care. That, and a little treatise on the ethics of common life, and the ways and means of ordinary happiness, are the works which I

bespeak from you for after times." The advice was good; for on these subjects, more than any other, Jeffrey was likely to excel. But he was not to be persuaded; and after reading his letter to a friend, written while he was fresh from perusing the Memoirs of Mackintosh, half of whose life was embittered by the stings of conscience for not performing what the world expected of him in this respect, we cannot say that the Scotch Judge and old reviewer was wrong in his determination. "The richness of his mind," he writes, "intoxicates me. And yet, do you not think he would have been a happier man, and quite as useful and respectable, if he had not fancied it a duty to write a great book? And is not this question an answer to your exhortation to me to write a little one? I have no sense of duty that way, and feel that the only sure or even probable result of the attempt would be hours and days of anxiety and unwholesome toil, and a closing scene of mortification."

His resolution in this respect was never shaken, though he retained to the last a keen relish for literary pursuits, and viewed with warm sympathy the undertakings of his friends. His admiration of the writings of Dickens was expressed in extravagant terms, the feeling being probably heightened by the warm personal regard that he had for their author. He volunteered his services in correcting the proof-sheets of Macaulay's History, and foretold its triumphant reception by the public. Even during his final illness, which lasted only a few days, as he lay in a half conscious, half sleeping state, he had dreams which were curiously characteristic. In a letter which he dictated to his son-in-law, the day before he died, speaking of these visions he says, "I saw part of a proof-sheet of a new edition of the Apocrypha, and all about Baruch and the Maccabees. I read a good deal in this with much interest, and in a huge Californian newspaper, full of all manner of odd advertisements. I could conjure up the spectrum of a closely-printed political paper, filled with discussions on free trade, protection, and the colonies, such as one sees in the Times, the Economist, and the Daily News. I read the ideal copies with a good deal of pain and difficulty, owing to the smallness of the type, but with great interest, and, I believe, often for more than

an hour at a time, forming a judgment of their merits with great freedom and acuteness, and often saying to myself, 'This is very cleverly put, but there is a fallacy in it for so and so.'" Surely, this was the euthanasy of an old reviewer. Jeffrey died on the 26th of January, 1850, in his seventy-seventh year.

ART. III. — *Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions.* By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 773.

THE most effective school for popular eloquence is a democratic government. Whenever, in the settlement of great questions of public policy, the ultimate appeal lies to the body of the people, some more effective and immediate means of moving them must be found, than are afforded by the printed or written word. The people will natually be brought together in large assemblages to hear the measures propounded upon which they are to act, and the reasons alleged which are to govern their actions. Newspapers, and other similar means of directing their opinions and influencing their conduct, are not quick and stirring enough in their operation, to have the whole of the desired effect. It is a comparatively laborious and irksome process to study and weigh the development of an argument, or a course of persuasive considerations, in print, while it is easy and agreeable to follow an eloquent speaker, whose tones and gestures command the attention and enlist the sympathies of his audience, and thus open, for the matter which he has to offer, a ready access to their understandings. In a crowd, also, the first effects produced are increased and propagated by the magnetic operation of sympathy. The hearer, who might listen unmoved if he stood alone, is caught and hurried away by the enthusiasm of the bystanders. And he who harangues a multitude is himself inspired by the emotion of his audience. His diction becomes more copious, his action more animated, and a throng of unstudied ideas and images seem to impede each other in

pressing for utterance. In this diffusive and inspiriting action of mind upon mind lies the secret of the superiority of truly popular eloquence, or of that which is addressed to large collections of men, over that which is peculiar to the senate and the bar. For the same reason, the plea which is addressed to a jury is more animated and impressive than that which is directed to the court. We may mark this difference even among the precious remains of the great orators of antiquity. Demosthenes always addressed a crowd; for, by the constitution of the courts at Athens, the judges were not much less numerous or more learned than the great assemblages which were brought together to decide whether they would go to war against Philip. Cicero's speeches for Marcellus and Ligarius, which are addressed to Cæsar alone, come short of those delivered before the senate, and are immeasurably inferior to the splendid harangues by which he swayed the populace in the forum. With the decay of freedom both in Greece and Rome, the art of oratory declined, and would hardly have been cultivated even in appearance, except from a tradition of the effects it had once produced.

In the very eloquent and scholarlike address, delivered by Mr. Winthrop before the Alumni Association of Harvard College last July, too late to be included in this collection of his speeches, there is a striking passage on the vast superiority of the means enjoyed in our own day, over those possessed by the classic nations of antiquity, for diffusing argument and eloquence, and thus acting speedily and effectively upon the public opinion of a great nation, or of the whole civilized world. Certainly, the perfection of the present system of reporting, and the ease with which copies are multiplied and transmitted by the combined aid of the printing-press and the magnetic telegraph, are among the greatest wonders of modern civilization.

"The orators of antiquity," said Mr. Winthrop, "spoke only to their immediate audience. They could address themselves to nobody else. It was upon the living multitude before them that an influence was to be produced, or not at all. Their power was limited by the number of persons assembled to hear them, or even more limited by the strength of their own lungs. The 6000

men who were necessary to constitute a *psephisma* or decree, or, at the very most, the 20,000 men who enjoyed the right of suffrage, were all to whom Demosthenes could appeal, — all upon whom his magic words and mighty thoughts could operate. He spoke to Athens; and

> "Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence, native to famous wits
> Or hospitable," —

was a city just about the size of Boston, with a population of only 140,000 in all, men, women, children, and slaves; — and the whole territory of Attica was not more than an eighth part of our own little Massachusetts."

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"It would perhaps be an extravagant remark, were I to say that the last thing, which a speaker of modern times cares about, is the number or the character of his audience. It would certainly be a most ungracious remark for one standing in the immediate presence, and appealing to the immediate indulgence, of so distinguished and brilliant an assembly. Great results, I know, are to be produced, and great results are often, in fact, produced, in these days as in days of yore, by the influence of the spoken word upon the many or the few who hear it. And much greater results might be accomplished in this way, than any which are witnessed, in modern times, if the voice, the manner, the emphasis, the gesture, the whole art of oratory were more carefully studied and cultivated. There are many occasions, moreover, when present, practical, and most important consequences depend upon the success of an immediate oratorical effort. In the pulpit, that noblest of all rostrums, and at the bar, the first business of the speaker is to instruct, animate, convince, and carry away captive, if possible, those whom he directly addresses. Now and then, too, there is a popular meeting, or a legislative assembly, at which great measures are to be lost or won, great principles vindicated or overthrown, momentous issues finally made up and decided."

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"But how little, under all ordinary circumstances, is the influence of a modern speaker confined by the accidents of voice or of audience? I have heard, and you, Mr. President, have far more frequently heard, a past or a present Premier of England, rising at midnight, in a little room hardly more ample or more elegant than many of our common country school-houses or town-halls, and in the presence of two or three hundred rather drowsy gentlemen, and with not half a dozen hearers besides ourselves in the galleries, diplomatic box and all, pronounce words which

not merely determined the policy of a colossal Empire, but which, before another sun had set, were read, marked, learned and inwardly digested by the whole reading population of the United Kingdom, — and which, before the next week had ended, had settled the judgment, and fixed the public opinion, of the whole continent of Europe, on the subject to which they related."

The contrast here suggested is a very striking one, and it is clearly and powerfully stated, though the want of space has obliged us to make omissions which leave only the skeleton of the speaker's thought. We are not sure, however, that the effects of the spoken word in modern times are not here unduly depreciated, or that it is not the increased wants of our own age which have given occasion for, and even created, the increased facilities for multiplying and disseminating the records of argument and eloquence. It might be an unfair application of the *argumentum ad hominem*, to say to Mr. Winthrop himself, that he cannot reasonably expect the copies of this handsomely printed collection of his speeches, easily multiplied and widely circulated as they may be, to produce so general an effect, either in the way of awakening pleasant emotions or of influencing opinion and conduct, as they did when they were separately first delivered, and aided by those accompaniments of "voice, manner, emphasis, gesture, and the whole art of oratory," which no one has more successfully studied and cultivated than himself. The living speech must always retain those advantages over the lifeless written or printed page, which have made many of the greatest orators of modern times, — Charles James Fox, and our own Webster, for instance, — seemingly indifferent whether their speeches were reported, printed, and circulated, or not. Else, why not give up *vivâ voce* discussion altogether, and trust entirely to writing in books and the newspapers, as a means of directing public opinion? What modern preachers have produced a stronger and wider effect than Wesley and Whitefield? And how little of the influence of either is to be attributed to the circulation of their printed sermons, which few could read without yawning, even when they were in the heyday of their popularity! Dr. Franklin was not a person whose natural temperament was very impressible, even by the greatest efforts of

oratory. But we all know the story which he has so inimitably told, how Whitefield, on one occasion, conjured all the copper and silver and gold out of his pocket, though the Doctor, when he began to listen, was as pebble-hearted as Launce's dog Crab. If the preacher had not delivered the sermon, but only printed it, the next day, in the Doctor's newspaper, we doubt whether Franklin would have given a penny.

True, the audiences which the Greek and Roman orators addressed were very limited in number; but they were large enough for the purpose, for they contained nearly all the persons whose opinions the speakers wished to influence. Mr. Winthrop himself tells us that Athens was hardly larger than Boston, and that the whole territory of Attica did not equal in size the county of Middlesex. What need, then, was there of multiplying copies of the oration, when almost the whole body of voters could have been collected within the limits of the speaker's voice? If every oration of Demosthenes could have been reported and printed the next morning in a penny newspaper, we doubt whether the Athenians would have gone to war with Philip one week sooner. Perhaps, their warlike enthusiasm might even have been abated or retarded by such a publication; for, coolly weighing the facts and arguments the next day, as they were comfortably seated at their breakfast tables, the enthusiasm created at the Bema having passed off in a good night's sleep, they might find reason to believe, that the public measures proposed were not quite as politic as the rhetoric was brilliant and overpowering. At Rome, the case was seemingly different, for her empire extended to the bounds of the civilized world. But her government was lodged within the city walls; and he who could there carry the Senate and the citizens along with him, as Cicero often did, by speeches which were not published till long after the event, could well afford to disregard the opinion of the provinces. No one thought of asking how they were affected towards any public measure.

Under popular governments in modern times, the vast increase in the number of voters, and of those whose opinions have a direct substantive influence in determining the policy of the country, has created a necessity for

the use of some means whereby the words of the statesman and orator may be borne to those who are beyond the reach of his voice. The printed page is necessarily substituted, to a great extent, for the spoken word. Considered merely as a substitute, its operation is marvellous; the lightning is its minister, and its compass includes the habitable globe. Still, for this particular purpose, it is only a substitute — a makeshift — an invention to which we are driven by necessity, not by choice. The full effect of oratory is perceived by those who hear; only a portion of it, often an insignificant portion, by those who read. Hence, as the government becomes more and more democratic, as the circle widens within which it is necessary for the waters to be stirred, the occasions for popular eloquence multiply, and greater efforts are made to supply the want. Even in England, the business of public agitators is not carried on wholly in the newspapers. O'Connell first showed the power of "monster meetings" in Ireland, and the Corn Law League profited by the lesson in the sister isle. The Edinburgh Review and the newspapers had been advocating the abolition of the Corn Laws for a quarter of a century, to very little effect; and but for the aid of the League, they might have argued the question twenty years longer, to quite as much purpose. If the world contained only scholars and thinkers, whose actions are governed by argument and reflection, and not by impulse and sympathy, and who can better weigh and judge when they read than when they hear, Mr. Winthrop's thesis would hold good. But it is not so; the vast majority of men, even in the most highly cultivated community, are of the opposite description. They are governed far more by the emotions than the judgment; to act upon their feelings is the only way to control their will. At least, they are thus brought to act upon all subjects, like religion and politics, the application of which to their daily concerns is comparatively remote, infrequent, and uncertain. In the exercise of their common avocations, indeed, or in the management of their personal concerns, reason asserts its rightful supremacy and constant influence. Elsewhere, passion rules; and only the orator who can stir their sympathies, and ope the sacred fount of tears, can sway their conduct.

Look at the manner, for instance, in which religious belief and practice are kept up in the community. Give up the stated services of the sanctuary, give up public preaching and prayer, and, though the Bible should be put into every man's hand, and a constant succession of the best religious works be circulated among the people without price, we fear that, humanly speaking, or without divine aid, Christianity would have no wider influence over men's hearts and lives than metaphysics. And with regard to the different kinds of preaching, the great masters of reasoning act in a very narrow sphere compared with the great masters of eloquence. Butler and Chillingworth would have comparatively little influence in our times, while Jeremy Taylor and Whitefield would draw multitudes after them. We speak, however, of the two things in their separate action, and not as combined or fused together. Of course, the highest kind of eloquence is close, vigorous, and impassioned reasoning; the most effective rhetoric is red-hot logic. But when separately considered, as means of attracting and governing the multitude, logic as cogent as that of Euclid's Elements is comparatively powerless, while brilliant and florid declamation may excite a war or lead a crusade. Peter the Hermit or Kossuth may be followed by millions, the efforts of the sober and reflecting portion of the community to the contrary notwithstanding.

Hence it is, that all the marvellous improvements of modern times in the art of disseminating the written word, upon which Mr. Winthrop lays so much stress, have not, so far as religion and politics are concerned, materially diminished the number of occasions for oratory, or lessened its comparative influence. Books and newspapers are vastly multiplied, it is true, and nowhere more so than here in the United States. But in each of our larger cities, we still have more speech-making than there ever was in Athens or Rome. In each political campaign, the ablest Review or newspaper article is quite inferior in efficiency to a speech by Choate, Phillips, or Corwin before what is called a "mass-meeting," though, in a majority of cases, the speech be not reported at all. Eloquence is already more *practised* here — we cannot yet say that it is more *cultivated* — than in any country of

the world. The appetite for it and its efficiency are increased with every step in the development of our democratic institutions. Only a few years ago, it was not thought to be good taste, here at the North, in a candidate for office to canvass the country, or (to adopt a significant Americanism) to "stump the State," making speeches to his constituents in every town-hall and district schoolhouse. The practice and the phrase which designates it belonged to the West; it was generally decried, and even ridiculed, in New England. But it is very common nowadays, and the custom will soon be universal. Mr. Webster remarked, more than a year ago, "that, for party men and in party times, there is hardly any thing so desirable as a topic,"—that is, a theme for vehement declamation. Other things being equal, that party will have the greatest success with the people which has for its ostensible purpose and battle-cry some subject which, as it appeals to the sympathies and the passions more than to the selfishness and the intellect of men, offers the widest scope for oratory, or the most fertile theme for effective speechmaking. It is always easier to kindle the war-spirit than to pacify and subdue it, simply because patriotism, bravery, the vindication of our country's honor, and the punishment of foreign insolence, are rich themes for earnest appeal and passionate invective. To adopt one of Mr. R. W. Emerson's curt apothegms, "eloquence is dog-cheap at the anti-slavery meeting;" hence the rapid and marked popularity of the anti-slavery movement both in England and this country. Even the cry for cheap bread, or for protection to domestic industry, which appeals so strongly to our interests, is inferior to it as a topic of popular agitation.

Mr. Winthrop, then, must not modestly depreciate his own vocation. The world will heed his theory much less than his example, especially in view of the bright antecedents by which his own path has been lighted. The records of oratory already form a large component part of American literature. "Orations and Addresses" are as natural a product of our institutions, as pines and hemlocks are of our soil. In our last number, we reviewed the six massive volumes of Mr. Webster's Speeches; and Mr. Winthrop, a much younger man in the public service,

now offers a volume of nearly 800 pages more. No; in this country at least, the press is not likely soon to outrun or to silence the tongue.

The contents of this volume are varied and miscellaneous, covering a wide range of subjects, and manifesting upon all of them the large information and pure taste of the well-trained scholar, as well as the fluent manner and ready logic of the practised debater. Five or six of the speeches belong to the division of demonstrative, or what we should rather call commemorative, eloquence; the others are chiefly of a forensic or senatorial character, being arguments upon most of the great public questions agitated in this country during the last seventeen years, which were delivered in the legislatures of the State or the Union, or before large assemblages of the people. Most, if not all, of them were published at the time in pamphlets or the newspapers, so that they are more or less familiar to our readers. Mr. Winthrop's political career has been an eminently successful one. His name and lineage were enough to secure him a favorable introduction to public notice here in Massachusetts. The lineal descendant of the Founder and first Governor of the Colony, and of James Bowdoin, the second Governor of the State, no one could have a higher claim, if inherited honors were ever recognized in this country, to take the lead in the affairs of the Commonwealth. But transmitted distinction was not needed for one who could manfully hew out his own path to popular favor and offices of public trust. After serving a reasonable period in the State Legislature, he was chosen to Congress by the citizens of Boston, and continued to act as their representative for eleven years, being elected Speaker for the only two years during which his party had the control of the House. The volume now published is, to some extent, a record of the measures he has supported and the opinions he has maintained during this long term of employment in the councils of the nation.

It would be hardly fair to apply the strict principles of literary criticism to such a book. It is made up of materials not originally designed, we suppose, to be collected and republished at a future day. The purpose of most of these speeches was answered as soon as they were de-

livered, or as soon as they had outlived their necessarily brief term of newspaper publication and notoriety. They express but a portion of the speaker's thought, because the dimensions of many of them were determined by "the hour rule," and by the particular stage which the discussion had reached when he obtained the floor. Mr. Winthrop's Preface warns us that "they thus contain, not what I might have said or might now say, but what I actually did say, on the subjects to which they relate." But they need little allowance on this score. They evince a clear head and cool temperament, not disturbed by the warmth of debate or by the excitement of the hour. They are moderate in tone, lucid and vigorous in reasoning, and precise in statement. The style is fluent and animated, often rising to the pitch of earnest declamation, but always directed by good taste, and never lapsing into rant. Mr. Winthrop is an active politician, but never forgets what is due to the gravity of the question discussed, to his audience, and to his own character. He knows how to vindicate his position and repel unmannerly and unjust assaults, without losing his temper or bandying personalities with his opponents. The place which he has occupied has been too conspicuous, and his influence in party movements too great, to allow him to escape altogether the calumny and invective which so generally dog the steps of one distinguished in public life. But he has been able triumphantly to repel both without borrowing the weapons of his assailants, or forfeiting his own self-respect. And it is only his political conduct which he has ever been required to defend; not even the rancor of party spirit has ever attacked his private character or left any imputation upon the uprightness of his conduct. This volume contains a very full report of all that he has been obliged to utter in the way of personal controversy; and we believe that all who are not immediately concerned with it, though they may belong to the ranks of his political opponents, will admit that it contains not a sentence or a word which he ought to blot.

We gladly turn for a moment to those portions of the book which lead us out of the din and turmoil of party manœuvres and political dispute. One of the most in-

teresting discourses in this volume is devoted to a review of the life and public services of James Bowdoin, a leader in the councils of Massachusetts during our revolutionary epoch and the dark years which immediately preceded the formation of the Federal Government. It was a fit task to be undertaken by the present representative of Governor Bowdoin's family, and it was appropriately delivered, by request of the Maine Historical Society, at Bowdoin College, an institution liberally endowed by the Governor's son. From the private papers in his possession, and from careful examination of public documents, Mr. Winthrop has been enabled to prepare a very complete and valuable memoir of the patriot statesman, whose life is a portion of the history of his native State. It is carefully and modestly written, with a natural feeling of pride in the subject, but with no disposition to exaggerate Bowdoin's services, or to claim for him a higher place than will readily be conceded by those who are best acquainted with his career.

The Bowdoin family is of Huguenot origin, its founder in this country having fled from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and taken refuge for a time in Ireland, whence he soon removed to New England. This Pierre Bowdoin, as the name was then written, obtained from Governor Andros, in 1687, a grant of one hundred acres of land on Casco Bay, in the Province of Maine. The original application, written in the French language, and signed by the petitioner, is still extant. The family remained in this location only two years and a-half, removing to Boston just in season to escape the destruction of the fort at Casco by the Indians, who massacred all the remaining settlers. "Pierre himself, however, lived but a short time after his arrival at Boston, and his eldest son, James, was left at the age of seventeen years, with the charge of maintaining a mother, a younger brother, and two sisters, in a strange land." But this great call upon his youthful energies was nobly met; and so successful were his efforts, that he became one of the first merchants in the Colony, was often elected to the Council, and bequeathed to his children the largest estate that had then ever been accumulated by an individual in Massachusetts.

James Bowdoin, the younger son of this prosperous merchant, was born in Boston on the 7th day of August, 1726, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1745. Coming into possession of an ample fortune as soon as he was of age, he soon withdrew from mercantile pursuits, to devote himself to the study of science, and, at a later period, to political objects. He was a friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin, who communicated to him in manuscript all his papers on electricity, and invited him to make known such observations and criticisms as they suggested. This was not a mere compliment, and Bowdoin soon proved himself a worthy coadjutor in the task of investigating the secrets of nature. His objections to the hypothesis that the sea is the grand source of electricity, appear to have induced Franklin to abandon that part of his theory; and the explanation which Bowdoin suggested, of the zigzag path of the lightning, was approved and adopted by him. Bowdoin also first accounted for the luminousness of sea-water, under certain circumstances, by the presence of minute phosphorescent animals, — a theory which is now generally received. These services in the cause of science did not pass without acknowledgment; Franklin forwarded the papers of his correspondent to the Royal Society at London, who published them in a volume with his own, and elected Bowdoin a Fellow of their association.

"But the sympathies of Franklin and Bowdoin were not destined to be long confined to philosophical inquiries. There were other clouds than those of the sky, gathering thickly and darkly around them, and which were about to require another and more practical sort of science, to break their force and rob them of their fires. '*Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis*' is the proud motto upon one of the medals which were struck in honor of Franklin. Bowdoin, we shall see, was one of his counsellors and coadjutors in both the processes which secured for him this enviable ascription.

"Bowdoin entered into political life in the year 1753, as one of the four representatives of Boston, in the Provincial Legislature of Massachusetts, and remained a member of the House for three years, having been reëlected by the same constituency in 1754 and 1755.

"The American Colonies were, at this moment, mainly engaged

in resisting the encroachments of the French upon their boundaries. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay devoted itself, with especial zeal, to this object. It was said, and truly said, by their Councillors in 1755, in an answer to one of Governor Shirley's Messages, 'that since the peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748) we have been at more expense for preventing and removing the French encroachments, we do not say than any other Colony, but than all His Majesty's Colonies besides.'

"Bowdoin appears from the journals to have coöperated cordially in making provision for the expeditions to Nova Scotia and Crown Point, and in all the military measures of defence. He seems, however, to have been more particularly interested in promoting that great civil or political measure of safety and security which was so seriously agitated at this time, — *the Union of the Colonies.*" pp. 96, 97.

To the project for this end, which was formed and advocated by Dr. Franklin, Bowdoin gave a uniform and hearty support. There still exists among his papers an imperfect memorandum of the speech which he made in its favor, when the subject came up for discussion in the General Court of Massachusetts. He urged, that a union of some sort was necessary before the Colonies could prevail against the French, who were united in their councils and acted under one head, while their opponents had little concert and often pulled in opposite directions. He was made the chairman of a committee of seven in the lower House, "to consider and report a general plan of union of the several Colonies on this continent, except those of Nova Scotia and Georgia." They agreed upon such a plan, and it was adopted by the Council; but the Representatives delayed to act upon it, and appear to have silently abandoned the project. The fear that no plan would be approved by the king which did not increase rather than lessen the dependence of the Colonies on the Crown, was undoubtedly the reason why the measure was dropped.

Bowdoin remained in the House of Representatives for three years; and then, in May, 1757, he was chosen by them a member of the Council, and was annually re-elected into that body till 1774, the intervening period being a more interesting and momentous one for all the British American Colonies than any other seventeen years of their history. The sphere of action in which he

then moved was a wide and important one. The Council of our Colonial times was not merely, what its name imports, a body appointed to advise and restrain the action of the executive head of the government. It was, in fact, a Senate, or Upper House in the Legislature, its twenty-eight members being annually elected, indeed, by the House of Representatives, but afterwards acting independently of them, and having coördinate power in the enactment of laws. Bowdoin's character, fortune, and abilities seem at once to have given him the lead in the Council on the popular side, the direction of affairs in that day falling more easily than it does at present, into the hands of one or two prominent members, whose example and suggestions were implicitly followed by the rest. For this reason, among others, the two branches of the Legislature generally acted with singular unanimity throughout their contest with the Governor and the British Ministry. This controversy did not assume a distinct form till the appointment of Bernard in 1760, from which time it went on steadily increasing in acrimony and importance, till it resulted in the disintegration of the British empire.

"Governor Bernard, in his very first speech to the Assembly, gave a clue to his whole political character and course, by alluding to the blessings which the Colonies derived 'from their *subjection* to Great Britain;' and the Council, in their reply to this speech, furnished a no less distinct indication of the spirit with which they were animated, by acknowledging how much they owed 'to their *relation* to Great Britain.'

"Indeed, if any one would fully understand the rise and progress of revolutionary principles on this continent; if he would understand the arbitrary and tyrannical doctrines which were asserted by the British ministry, and the prompt resistance and powerful refutation which they met at the hands of our New England patriots, he must read what are called 'The Massachusetts State Papers,' consisting, mainly, of the messages of the Governor to the Legislature, and the answers of the two branches of the Legislature to the Governor, during this period. He will find here almost all the great principles and questions of that momentous controversy, Trial by Jury, Regulation of Trade, Taxation without Representation, the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, and the rest, stated and argued with unsurpassed ability and spirit. It was by these State Papers, more, perhaps, than by any thing else, that the people of that day were instructed as to

the great rights and interests which were at stake, and the popular heart originally and gradually prepared for the great issue of Independence. If James Otis's argument against Writs of Assistance in 1761, (as was said by John Adams,) 'breathed into this nation the breath of life,' few things, if any thing, did more to prolong that breath, and sustain that life through the trying period of the nation's infancy, until it was able to *go alone*, than the answers of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts to the insolent assumptions of Bernard and Hutchinson, mainly drafted by the same James Otis and Samuel Adams, and the answers of the Council, mainly drafted by *James Bowdoin.*

"Of the first-rate part which Bowdoin played, during his long service in the Council, we have the fullest testimony from most unquestionable sources.

"Governor Hutchinson, who was himself a principal actor in the scenes which he describes, and who will not be suspected of any undue partiality to Bowdoin, furnishes unequivocal testimony as to his course.

"In most of the addresses, votes, and other proceedings in Council, of importance, for several years past, (says he, in the third volume of his History of Massachusetts, at the commencement of the year 1766,) the Lieutenant-Governor, (Hutchinson himself) had been employed as the chairman of the committees. Mr. Bowdoin succeeded him, and obtained a greater influence over the Council than his predecessor ever had; and being united in principle with the leading men in the House, measures were concerted between him and them, and from this time the Council, in matters which concerned the controversy between the Parliament and the Colonies, in scarcely any instance disagreed with the House."

"Again, under date of 1770, Hutchinson says, 'Bowdoin was *without a rival in the Council*, and by the harmony and reciprocal communications between him and Mr. S. Adams, the measures of Council and House harmonized also, and were made reciprocally subservient each to the other; so that when the Governor met with opposition from the one, he had reason to expect like opposition from the other.'

"Hutchinson also states, under the same date, that 'Bowdoin greatly encouraged, if he did not first propose, (as a measure of retaliation for the arbitrary taxes imposed by Great Britain,) the association for leaving off the custom of mourning dress, for the loss of deceased friends; and *for wearing, on all occasions, the common manufactures of the country.*" pp. 101 – 103.

In June 1774, the General Court of Massachusetts elected its five delegates to the first Continental Congress

at Philadelphia, and at the head of the list stood the name of James Bowdoin, his colleagues being the two Adamses, Cushing, and Paine. Bowdoin was prevented from acting on this appointment, however, by the dangerous illness of his wife, and by the alarming failure of his own health, which soon followed. The wife of John Adams met him in society in June, 1775, and thus writes of him to her husband: — "He, poor gentleman, is so low, that I apprehend he is hastening to a house not made with hands; he looks like a mere skeleton, speaks faint and low, is racked with a violent cough, and, I think, far advanced in consumption." This sickness, from which he did not entirely recover for some years, lost him the honor of inscribing his name on the roll of the Declaration of Independence. When the news of the Declaration arrived in Boston, however, he acted as chairman of the committee appointed to superintend its proclamation from the balcony of the Old State House. In the same year, also, he presided over the Committee appointed to manage the affairs of the State during the recess of the General Court. In 1779, he was a delegate from the town of Boston to the Convention which framed the Constitution of the State, and was elected its president. He also served as chairman of the select committee that prepared the original draft of the Constitution; and according to Judge Lowell, "it is owing to the hints which he occasionally gave, and the part which he took with the committee who framed the plan, that some of the most admired sections in the Constitution of this State appear in their present form."

But it was during the few years which elapsed between the peace of 1783 and the formation of the Federal Constitution that the firm character and commanding abilities of James Bowdoin were most conspicuously manifested, and the most signal services rendered by him to his country. It was a period of general anxiety and gloom, — of national bankruptcy, private distress, the relaxation of the bonds of morals and law, and popular insubordination. It was the true crisis in the history of free institutions, not only in this country, but throughout the world. The contest of arms was over, and the thirteen feeble Colonies had become so many independent States, united

by a loose and uncertain compact or league, but not welded together into one nation, and not yet acknowledging any community of interest or any tie of allegiance to a central power. It remained to be seen whether national independence was to be a blessing or a curse ; — whether the people, after throwing off all foreign restraint, would be wise and magnanimous enough to impose laws upon themselves, and to respect them when made, or whether they would follow that course of anarchy, license, and civil war which has subsequently rendered the history of the South American republics, and of the ephemeral republican governments of the Old World, a warning to mankind. The vast exertions they had made during the armed struggle had exhausted the energies of the people, and, to a considerable extent, had demoralized them. On the one hand, there was a general feeling of lassitude, an indisposition to make any further sacrifices or efforts, and on the other, a fierce impatience of any act or movement which should even seem to limit their recently acquired, universal freedom. The load of public and private debt was enormous. Of what use was it that the people had successfully resisted English bayonets, if they were now to be called upon to respect implicitly the orders of the sheriff and the staff of the constable? To what purpose had they braved the wrath of Crown and Parliament, if creditors were still to distress them, and county courts sentence them to fine and imprisonment? Or why tax themselves millions of hard dollars, when they had just gone through a seven years' war because they would not pay an impost of three pence a pound on tea?

It is no cause for wonder that such questions were frequently asked, or even that a majority of the people were inclined to answer them in a manner most consonant with their present feelings of weariness and independence. And now that there were offices in their gift, there were demagogues enough to flatter them with the belief that licentiousness was freedom, that an effective central government would be as tyrannical as the foreign dominion which they had just thrown off, and that domestic debt might be as easily repudiated as English allegiance. The best and wisest patriots never faltered in their opinions or their conduct for a moment; but they saw the difficulties

which environed them, and looked gloomily into the future. Washington's letters at this period evince even greater discouragement than at the darkest periods of the war. He argued, he implored, he even scolded, — so far as it was possible for one of his sedate disposition and majestic deportment to lose his temper. His influence was immense over the reflecting and judicious portion of the community; but as yet, he had little control over the populace. If his efforts had not been strenuously seconded by the great civilians of the country, upon whom the burden fell now that the din of war had ceased, — by such men as Hamilton, Morris, Madison, and Bowdoin, — he might have sadly looked out from Mount Vernon upon the spectacle of a nation ruined by its own victory.

In the darkest hour for Massachusetts, in January, 1785, Bowdoin was elected its chief magistrate. His attention was first turned to financial measures, for the purpose of reëstablishing the credit of the State, and of finding profitable employment for the people. But the policy which he recommended for this end was that of a strict discharge of all pecuniary obligations, whether of a public or private character; "he stood forth, in his first address to the Legislature, as the stern advocate of supporting the credit of the State at all costs, and as the uncompromising opponent of every idea of repudiation." In the same address, also, he earnestly advised that the powers of the Continental Congress should be enlarged, so that they might lay duties upon imports, and thus afford protection to domestic industry.

"The state of our foreign trade, (said he,) which has given so general an uneasiness, and the operation of which, through the extravagant importation and use of foreign manufactures, has occasioned so large a balance against us, demands a serious consideration.

"To satisfy that balance, our money is exported; which, with all the means of remittance at present in our power, falls very short of a sufficiency.

"Those means, which have been greatly lessened by the war, are gradually enlarging; but they cannot soon increase to their former amplitude, so long as Britain and other nations continue the commercial systems they have adopted since the war. Those

nations have an undoubted right to regulate their trade with us, and to admit into their ports, on their own terms, the vessels and cargoes that go from the United States, or to refuse an admittance; their own interest, or their sense of it, being the only principle to dictate those regulations, where no treaty of commerce is subsisting.

"The United States have the same right, and can, and ought to regulate their foreign trade on the same principle; but it is a misfortune, that Congress have not yet been authorized for that purpose by all the States. If there be any thing wanting on the part of this State to complete that authority, it lies with you, gentlemen, to bring it forward and mature it, and, until Congress shall ordain the necessary regulations, you will please to consider what further is needful to be done on our part, to remedy the evils of which the merchant, the tradesman, and manufacturer, and indeed every other description of persons among us, so justly complain."

"It is of great importance, (he continues,) and the happiness of the United States depends upon it, that Congress should be vested with all the powers necessary to preserve the Union, to manage the general concerns of it, and secure and promote its common interest. That interest, so far as it is dependent on a commercial intercourse with foreign nations, the Confederation does not sufficiently provide for; and this State and the United States in general are now experiencing, by the operation of their trade with some of these nations, particularly Great Britain, the want of such a provision. . . .

"This matter, Gentlemen, merits your attention; and if you think that Congress should be vested with ampler powers, and that special delegates from the States should be convened to settle and define them, you will take the necessary measures for obtaining such a Convention or Congress, whose agreement, when confirmed by the States, would ascertain these powers." — pp. 116, 117.

Acting upon this advice, in July, 1785, the legislature passed a series of resolutions, recommending that a convention should be held of delegates from all the States, to revise the articles of Confederation and enlarge the powers of Congress. Meanwhile, they passed an act of their own authority, for the purpose of protecting the labor of our own people against the restrictive policy of Great Britain and other nations; the law being operative, of course, only within the limits of Massachusetts, and being designed to cease when the subject should pass under national control. An extract from the Governor's

second message to the legislature, at its session in October, 1785, shows with what intentions this act was passed, and how clear and sound were Bowdoin's views upon the subject.

"As one intention of the act (says he) was to encourage our own manufactures, by making such a distinction in the duties upon them and upon foreign manufactures as to give, in regard to price, a clear preference to the former, you will please to consider, in revising the act, whether that intention be in fact answered with respect to some of them. I would particularly instance in the manufacture of loaf sugar, which, at a time when we were under the dominion of Great Britain, was for a while very profitably carried on here; but by the British Parliament giving a large bounty on the exportation of it from thence, and this with a view of putting a stop to our manufacturing it, it was imported here so cheap as effectually to answer that purpose. The bounty, as I am informed, being still continued, the duties on each of these manufactures, and on foreign in general, should be so regulated, as to give a decided preference in favor of our own; and a like attention should be also had in reference to all our manufactures." pp. 119, 120.

Mr. Winthrop gives a string of other citations, of a similar character, from Governor Bowdoin's messages, the purport of which fully justifies the following language: —

"It is not for me, on this occasion, to discuss the value of what has been called 'the American System.' Nor would I, at any time, disturb the laurels of those among the living to whom its paternity has been ascribed. But if any one of later years is privileged to wear the title of the father of this system, I think I may safely assert, upon the evidence which I have now furnished, the unquestionable claim of Governor Bowdoin to be remembered as its *grandfather*.

"Certainly, if any one desires to know for what object the revisal of the old articles of confederation was demanded by at least one of its earliest and most prominent advocates in New England; if any one desires to understand what was the original Massachusetts meaning of the constitutional phrase, 'Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations;' he may read it in language which cannot be mistaken, in these messages of Governor Bowdoin." pp. 121, 122.

In April, 1786, Bowdoin was again elected Governor by a large majority, and again urged the legislature, in

his opening address, to make provision for sustaining the public credit. It needed no ordinary firmness to give such advice, when the pressure of the taxes already imposed was fast driving the people into rebellion. We need not repeat here a story so familiarly known as that of Shays's Insurrection, of the vast exertions by which it was crushed, and of its indirect but happy result in convincing a majority of the nation that a strong central government was indispensable, not merely for their well-being, but for the preservation of society itself from anarchy and ruin. Distress and discontent were so general that the legislature could not be induced to act with firmness, and it was doubtful whether a majority of the people did not so far sympathize with the insurgents that, at the next elections, they would place the government in the hands of men who would grant all that Shays and Shattuck demanded. All the hopes of the reflecting and judicious portion of the community were centred in the Governor, and nobly did he justify their trust. Office was not desirable to him except as a means of promoting the public welfare; and he was prepared to lose it and to forfeit his own popularity, whenever the interests of the State demanded such a sacrifice. After the legislature, at a special session which he called, had proved to be time-serving and pusillanimous, refusing to declare the disaffected counties in a state of rebellion, passing a new tender law, and publishing a conciliatory address to the men who were already in arms against the government, he resolved to act upon his own responsibility. He called out forty-four hundred of the militia, placed them under the command of General Lincoln, and ordered them to march, in the depth of winter, against the insurgents. Just as the troops were ready to obey, the Commissary-General informed him that the necessary supplies could not be had without a considerable sum in cash, which the Treasurer was unable to borrow. A subscription paper, with the Governor's name at the head of it, was immediately circulated among the more wealthy and intelligent citizens of Boston, and in less than twenty-four hours the money was obtained, and the troops were on the march. The military commander was as prompt and decided in action as the Governor had been in his in-

structions. Within a fortnight from the time of taking the field, and in the middle of a winter of unprecedented severity, Lincoln traversed a great part of the interior of the State, dispersed the two great collections of the insurgents, took many of them prisoners, and entirely crushed the rebellion on the east side of the Connecticut, without a drop of blood being shed by the troops under his immediate command. Well may Mr. Winthrop say, "that to the lofty principle, the calm prudence, the wise discretion, and the indomitable firmness of Bowdoin, the result was primarily due, and that his name is entitled to go down in the history of the country as preëminently the leader in that first great vindication of law and order within the limits of our American Republic." The elections came about in the spring, and, as had been foreseen, Bowdoin was turned out of office, and John Hancock put in his place. His friends seem to have acquiesced in this result; and Mr. Winthrop says it "is well understood now, that the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the Convention of Massachusetts was unquestionably brought about by this concession on the part of his political friends to the demands of their opponents. He would have counted no sacrifice of himself too great to accomplish such a result."

"But Bowdoin was to be permitted to aid in the accomplishment of that result in a more direct and agreeable manner. Once more, and for the last time, he was to be employed in the service of the Commonwealth and the Country. A Constitution, embodying the great principle of *the Regulation of Trade by a General Union*, was at length framed by the National Convention at Philadelphia, and submitted to the adoption of the people. The Massachusetts Convention assembled to consider it in January, 1788. Bowdoin was a delegate from Boston, and had the satisfaction of finding his son by his side, as a delegate from Dorchester. Both gave their ardent and unhesitating support to the new instrument of government, and both made formal speeches in its favor.

"The elder Bowdoin concluded his remarks with a sentiment, which will still strike a chord in every true American heart, —

"'If the Constitution should be finally accepted and established, it will complete the temple of American liberty, and like the keystone of a grand and magnificent arch, be the bond of union to keep all the parts firm and compacted together. May this

temple, sacred to liberty and virtue, — sacred to justice, the first and greatest political virtue, — and built upon the broad and solid foundation of perfect union, — be dissoluble only by the dissolution of nature! and may this Convention have the distinguished honor of erecting one of its pillars on that lasting foundation!'

"It was Bowdoin's happiness to live to see this wish accomplished, to see the Federal Constitution adopted, and the Government organized under it, and to welcome beneath his own roof his illustrious friend, General Washington, on his visit to Boston in 1789, as the first President of the United States." pp. 126, 127.

Mr. Bowdoin's age and the state of his health rendered this the last public service which he was able to perform for his country. What remained to him of life and energy he devoted to a resumption of those philosophical inquiries which had interested his youth, and to a renewal of his correspondence with Dr. Franklin. The two friends died within a short time of each other, — Franklin on the 17th of April, 1790, and Bowdoin on the 6th of November, in the same year. "Rarely has the end of a public man in New England been marked by evidences of a deeper or more general regret."

We have dwelt the longer upon this sketch of the life and services of James Bowdoin, because it seems to us to present as complete a picture as the history of our country can furnish, next to that of Washington, of the qualities of character and conduct which should distinguish an eminent American politician. Of character and conduct, we say; for in point of intellect, Hamilton, Adams, Franklin, and others were probably his superiors. But no one labored from a purer motive, or with higher aims. Office was to him a means, never an end. So long as the confidence of his fellow-citizens enabled him to hold it to their advantage, so long he would devote to it the whole of his time and thought, and the best of his endeavors. When this confidence was withdrawn through no fault of his own, he could retire without murmuring to private life, and find, in the elegant and thoughtful pursuits of science, more than a compensation for all the bustle and show of gratified ambition. Patriotic and conservative, firm but discreet, daring and yet prudent, he rendered far more to his constituents than he ever

received from them, even counting the posthumous honors that attend his name. There is no blot upon his fame, no record of any weakness in any portion of his public or private conduct. The good which he accomplished lives after him; but, perhaps, the greatest benefit which he has left to posterity is the history of his life and his stainless example.

We return from the Governor, for a moment, to the "Addresses and Speeches" of his descendant, who is emulously treading in his steps. The first speech in this volume which was delivered by Mr. Winthrop, in his legislative capacity, is an able argument in favor of making a grant from the State Treasury to indemnify the proprietors of the Ursuline Convent, in Charlestown, for the destruction of their building and furniture by a mob, on the night of the 11th of August, 1834. It was the first "No Popery" outrage that had disgraced any portion of Massachusetts for many years. Strongly as the feelings and opinions of a great majority of the people were directed against the Roman Catholic faith, the principles of religious toleration and respect for the substance and the forms of law were still more deeply rooted in their hearts; and therefore, they looked with composure, though not with indifference, on the erection of Catholic churches upon our soil, and on the efforts of the Romish priesthood to establish, confirm, and even propagate their peculiar doctrines and worship. But any form of monachism is particularly repugnant to the feelings of Protestants; and the establishment of an Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, the first institution of the kind in the State, was consequently regarded with peculiar fear and dislike. Base means were soon used to foster this unworthy prejudice. Odious rumors were circulated affecting the conduct of the inmates of the institution; and though an immediate investigation proved that they were entirely baseless and absurd, the fury which they had kindled in the minds of the populace could not be satisfied without violence. The building was tenanted only by helpless women and children; but even this consideration could not protect it from an attack at midnight. The result may be stated in Mr. Winthrop's words.

"An institution, established partly for purposes of religion, partly for purposes of education, and partly for purposes of charity, — an institution established under the laws of the land, and paying the price of protection to the government in the prescribed form of annual taxes, — was besieged by a mob, sacked, pillaged, and burned; and this — not silently, not secretly, not in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye — but by a course of concerted measures, openly and publicly carried on for a period of six or seven hours in succession, in the presence of thousands of spectators, while not a single arm was lifted in its defence." p. 175.

Mr. Winthrop's argument in favor of indemnifying the proprietors of the Convent was able, eloquent, and complete. Of course, no one was found bold enough to stand up in the legislature and justify the act itself; all admitted that it was wholly indefensible and atrocious. Even before the courts of justice, though most of the perpetrators escaped, through defect of evidence or from the reluctance of juries to convict, one of them was found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The only question was, whether the State was fairly responsible for the deed, or for not preventing it, and was therefore bound in equity to compensate the sufferers. Mr. Winthrop based his reasoning upon the broad doctrine, that a compact everywhere exists between the State and those who are subject to it, protection being the consideration on one side, and allegiance on the other; if either party fails to perform its obligation, reparation is due. The argument was conclusive, but it fell upon unwilling ears; neither then, nor since, was a dollar of compensation granted. Yet the principle upon which Mr. Winthrop argued was fully affirmed, and partly carried out, by a law which passed the legislature four years afterwards, making towns and cities responsible to the amount of three quarters of the value of any property within their limits which should in future be destroyed by rioters. This wise act of legislation seems to declare, that the community is bound to do just three fourths of what is right, the other fourth being chargeable, we suppose, to the weakness of human nature. Massachusetts has not always acted in this spirit. While the Stamp Act was in force, and during the greatest political excitement that ever raged in the Colony, the mob in Boston attacked

the mansion of the Lieutenant-Governor in the night time, completely gutted it, and burned his furniture and private papers in bonfires kindled in the street. The legislature, the next year, composed almost exclusively of the political opponents of the Lieutenant-Governor, and acting under the direction and advice of James Otis, who had personal as well as political grounds of enmity with him, granted over three thousand pounds in compensation, this sum being estimated as more than sufficient to cover the direct pecuniary loss. Hutchinson appeared in person at the bar of the House, to thank them for their liberality.

That a spirit of the broadest religious toleration and of equal justice to all churches and sects is perfectly compatible with the most profound respect for Christianity, and with the opinion that the obligations of religious belief are indispensable to hold the bonds of society together, was fully shown in the next speech published in this volume, which is an argument against the bill for allowing atheists to testify in a court of justice. The reasoning is clear and forcible, and, as we think, perfectly conclusive. The true ground for excluding atheists is, that it is neither proper nor safe to allow grave cases, affecting property and life, to be decided in our courts of justice, except upon the testimony of persons who are sworn to tell the truth. To one who does not believe in the existence of a God, an oath has no meaning, and he is therefore, virtually, not sworn at all. But if one witness is to be admitted unsworn, all ought to be so admitted; otherwise, the atheist would have an unfair advantage, which, in a chancery suit, where the parties are allowed to testify in their own cause, would be a very important advantage. Consequently, those who hold that atheists ought to be allowed to testify, if they are consistent, ought to maintain that oaths should be given up altogether, — that is, that men in general are just as likely to swear to an untruth as simply to utter one, — which is contrary to experience and common sense. If it be urged, that the exclusion of the testimony of an atheist may sometimes occasion a failure of justice, the true answer is, that in a community constituted like our own, or, in fact, like any civilized community of the

present day, not one case in a thousand will be found to depend on the testimony of an atheist; and no one can reasonably maintain that we ought to run the risk, created by giving up oaths altogether, of a failure of justice in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases, in order to provide against such a chance of failure in a single instance.

We have not space to comment on the other speeches contained in this volume, and it is not necessary. Most of them relate to topics which have been warmly agitated in the community during the last seventeen years, upon which public opinion is much divided, and with which the debates in legislative halls and in the newspapers have made us abundantly familiar. It is little to say that Mr. Winthrop discusses them with firmness, moderation, and good taste. His argument is seldom complete for the reason already intimated; it is adapted to the stage of the debate at which it was uttered, being intended only to cover the ground which had not been preoccupied by other speakers, or which was most likely to influence the decision then pending. But so far as it goes, it is able, manly, and frank, — creditable alike to the speaker's scholarship, decision, and good sense. The volume is an honorable record of its author's long term of public service, an explicit avowal of his political opinions and preferences, and a fair and creditable specimen of the ability with which he has maintained them.

Art. IV. — 1. *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations.* By Authority of the Royal Commission. London: Spicer Brothers. 1851.

2. *Lectures on the Results of the Great Exhibition of* 1851, *delivered before the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.* London. 1852.

3. *The Year-Book of Facts in the Great Exhibition of* 1851. By John Timbs. London. 1851.

These works give a connected view of the Exhibition, of which every one has heard so much. In the Cata-

logue, we have a full history of the way in which the scheme originated, and the mode of carrying it out, and then a description of every article exhibited, written in each case by the exhibitor himself, with notes and explanations by persons familiar with the processes involved. In the Year-Book, we find comments on all the most noteworthy objects; and in the Lectures, an interesting *résumé* of the whole, by the highest scientific authorities in Great Britain. The accounts published from day to day in the newspapers, the wood-cuts in the Illustrated Papers, the pictures and panoramas, and the endless list of articles on the subject in the Magazines, have made most people familiar even to weariness with all the details. Still, it may be interesting, now that it is over, to compare the plan itself with its execution, and with its results. It was undeniably successful. The building was erected, and the articles all received and arranged, by the time appointed. They were exhibited to 50,000 people a day, without confusion or difficulty, or loss from fire or thieves, or riots, or rain; and the result was a clear profit of more than a million and a half of dollars.

It is difficult to understand now, why people should ever have doubted that such would be the result; why they should have feared riots in the building, when much larger crowds, and of a much lower class, behave perfectly well at a review or a fair; — or why they should have supposed a thief would go into an edifice guarded by an army of police officers, when it would be so much easier to step into a jeweller's shop. As to the million and a half of profit, it must be allowed that the Royal Commissioners showed great mercantile talent. The French exhibition of 1849, which suggested the English one, was opened to the public gratuitously five days in the week; but the English Commissioners not only compelled every one who entered to pay his shilling at the door, but they absolutely "cleared" $4,000 "by taking charge of umbrellas," $16,000 by the Catalogue, and $27,000 by the ice-cream saloons; and, meanwhile, the large money prizes first promised had dwindled down into cheap bronze medals. The point least insisted on, the Exhibition being ready for opening on the 1st of May, the very day originally appointed, seems to us the real wonder.

But though it was, in its way, so singularly successful, it does not appear that the success was of the kind anticipated, or that the Exhibition itself was the thing expected; in fact, it was quite the reverse. It was expected that a million, or more probably, two millions, of foreigners would be collected from all parts of the world to study it. But the Commissioners' Report shows that only a very few thousands came, — hardly a larger number than the foreign exhibitors themselves, with their friends, assistants, and servants, would account for.

It was expected that novelties of every kind, — new substances, new machines and processes, — would be sent and exhibited, compared, tested, and, if good, introduced. Now we believe the very first thing that would strike any workman or manufacturer who should look over the Catalogue, would be, that scarcely any novelty whatever was exhibited. There were many that might have been sent. There are, at least, a thousand new patents taken out every year, in this country alone, and perhaps as many new processes discovered not of a kind to be patented. There is an almost countless number of processes in the arts, never yet described in any book, that would have been entire novelties to every one not engaged in the particular trade or "mystery" to which they belong. But they were not sent to the Exhibition. The writer in the Year-Book has to dwell on such things as "chain cables," exactly as they were made in 1810; "Bramah's lock," that had been twenty years in his shop window; "Pattinson's process for desilvering lead," in use for more than ten years; the "Thames Tunnel Shield," that has been a prominent object in every exhibition these fifteen years; and "Hobbs's lock," and "McCormick's Reaper," both of which, it seems, had been already exhibited, of all places in the world, in Austria. One of the most eager panegyrists of the Exhibition in the Reviews can find but three real novelties in the whole of the immense list. The first is Claussen's mode of treating flax, to fit it for spinning by common cotton-spinning machines. But that, one of the lecturers tells us, is no novelty. It was introduced eighty years ago, and given up after some trial; and the reinvention by Claussen seems likely to share the same fate. The second is Mercer's mode of

treating cotton cloth, by dipping it in strong alkali, to make the fibre shorten and swell, so that the cloth shall become finer and closer, and, if printed, the colors brighter. This invention, as far as the lecturers know, has not yet had its value tested by the manufacturers. The third is neither more nor less than a new kind of Lucifer match.

It is easy to see why new inventions were not sent to the Exhibition. An inventor naturally desires to benefit himself by his invention, and he generally finds the safest way is to say as little as possible about it; — that is, if it is a good one. The inventor of the printing press made his first books look as much like manuscripts as he could, and sold them as manuscripts, and would never have been found out, if he had not offered them at too low a price. If he had lived in our day, the only difference would have been that he would have patented his invention; but he would have called as little attention as possible to the profits of the business, and certainly, would never have sent the types and presses to an Exhibition.

The same spirit, very naturally, actuates whole classes and nations. In the first speech, by the Chairman of the Commission, at the London city dinner, we are told, that the blessings bestowed upon us "can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render each other;" the necessity of "peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth," is insisted upon; and, in a later speech at York, he says the invitation "has been received by all nations, with whom communication was possible, in that spirit of liberality and friendship in which it was tendered."

Now this liberal and friendly invitation was, in fact, a request to the foreign manufacturer to send to England every peculiar machine, process, or contrivance he had, and teach the English workmen how to use it, — the foreigner paying all the expense himself. The iron manufacturers in this country are suffering from the competition with the cheaper labor of Great Britain, and necessity has forced them to learn to economize in a variety of ways, which, as yet, in Great Britain, they know very little about. This doctrine of peace, love, and ready assistance would require our iron masters to send out

men, at their own expense, to teach the English workmen these improvements. And the doctrine does not apply to the other side. As soon as the Englishman is taught, he is at perfect liberty to use his knowledge, and it is certain he will use it, immediately, to undersell his teachers and ruin their business. It is curious, in this connection, to read the motto on one of the designs for the prize-medals: — "*Britannia orbis terrarum industriam fovit.*" Our manufacturers did not seem to appreciate properly this cherishing process.

Colt's repeating pistols were exhibited there by the manufacturer, very naturally, as it was his business to sell them in London, or anywhere. But it was at once remarked by the Times, that it was very fortunate they had been sent, or else, in the next war, the American sailors would have boarded their vessels, each man armed with a pair of these revolvers, and have cleared the decks as certainly as if they had brought Paixhan guns with them. Why should not our men clear their enemy's decks in a sea-fight, if they can? What possible object can we have, as a nation, in assisting to arm British seamen?

The foreign manufacturers seem generally to have taken this sort of view of the friendly invitation. Any English iron master would give thousands of pounds to learn the secret of the Russia sheet iron. The Russians sent them many samples of the iron, but they did not send them the secret. There was plenty of Sevres and Dresden porcelain and Bohemian glass sent, but not the least hint at the mode of making and coloring the porcelain and glass. The English glass-makers, too, sent their wares, but they sent no receipts. Bramah and Chubb sent their locks; but the interesting part of the matter, the mystery of lock-picking, would never have been brought to light, but for the accident of Mr. Hobbs having a lock there, so expensive that he saw he could not introduce it, unless he could first destroy all confidence in the cheaper, old-fashioned ones which he found in the shops.

But while there were so many objections to sending any thing really new and interesting, there was the strongest inducement to send every thing that was second-rate and unimportant, — every thing that needed

advertising to sell it. The inducement was strong enough to bring together the greatest number and variety of objects ever put under one roof; all sorts of things good to eat, or to drink, or to wear, or to live in, or to be carried about by, or to look at, — from a group of statuary to a string of beads; and, however else they differed, they were all alike in one respect, — they were all things which people wanted to sell. The Exhibition, instead of being, as it was intended, a collection, scientifically arranged, of all the materials and machinery and products of the useful arts, was more like an immense shop-window, in which people put exactly those goods which they found could not be got rid of without vigorous advertising. The lecturers praise the disinterestedness of some parties, who sent samples of coal ore and other things, the sale of which the Exhibition could not benefit; but they admit the number of such disinterested people was very small. One lecturer calls it a great bazaar, where "the whole world of manufacturers" offered their wares "to the whole world of customers;" — a statement which suggests a reason for our manufacturers not going to the expense of sending their wares thither, — our customers being all on this side of the water. It is pleasant to find that the assignment of so absurdly large a space as was assigned for specimens from the United States, was their own blunder, not ours. It was not asked for.

The prize-medals, too, spoken of with great respect at first, got to have no other value than that of advertising cards. One lecturer admits, that, in his opinion, as rewards of merit, they were a fallacy. There were 2,918 of them given out; and the mode in which they were distributed does not seem exactly adapted to encourage the highest industrial efforts. Prince Albert got two medals; the Pacha of Egypt, the Government of Spain, the Bey of Tunis, and the Government of Turkey, one each. The prize for life-boats was given, not to any inventor or builder of life-boats, but to the Duke of Northumberland, for a collection of other people's models. W. Bond & Son's invention for a new mode of observing astronomical phenomena received the same council medal as Count Dunin's infinitely absurd automaton figure for

tailors to try coats on. The same prize-medal was given for "Bailey's statue of a nymph," and "Simms's equatorials;" and for a "ham," "pickles," "a shirt," "tallow," a "towel," and a "broom."

It was expected that the Exhibition would be a great school for workmen, where each man would study out all the machines and processes that could be of use in his own trade. One of the lecturers says, "for the first time, has been placed within their grasp" — the humbler and working classes — "a knowledge of what has been done, what is doing, and by whom." It is possible the working classes understood this matter pretty well before; but if not, the Exhibition was no place to learn in. No Manchester workman would think of stopping to look at the imitation cotton-mill they got up in the Exhibition. No machinist would care to see the collection of lathes and planing machines, when he could see whole acres of just such machines in any manufacturing town. Workmen went to the Exhibition, certainly; but it is not necessary to suppose they went there to study. The diamonds, and the crystal fountain, the stuffed animals, and the Queen, might have attracted them. It is certain, that workmen and all utterly refused to attend the lectures given while the Exhibition was going on, to explain the objects they were supposed to have come there to study; and out of the 50,000 daily visitors, it was impossible to get decent audiences.

The real use of the Exhibition, it seems to us, was exactly the one never hinted at as a possibility by the originators of the scheme. It did not bring out novelties, it did not establish the doctrine of peace and love; there seems no probability that it will act, as expected, "as an antidote to war," and it has not improved the arts of peace, or taught the workmen any thing, so far as yet appears; but it evidently did teach the scientific men a great deal. In these lectures, by men of science, on the results, we think there is observable an uneasy consciousness of the extent of the workman's knowledge, — almost a doubt whether it was not for the workman to teach them, rather than for them to teach the workman, — very different from the lofty tone generally assumed by scientific lecturers, when they undertake to teach practical men about common affairs.

There is an irreconcilable difference of opinion on these points between the learned and unlearned classes. In our own country, the best authorities as far as learning can go, have said, "our arts have been the arts of science, built up from an acquaintance with principles;" "the application of philosophy to the arts has made the world what it is at the present day;" "the first great step in modern science was to enter the workshop, and superintend its operations." The Chairman of the Commission for the Exhibition says, "science discovers these laws, and industry applies them," the precedence being always given to science; and in Dr. Playfair's lecture, given after he had studied the Exhibition, we still find "science has been a prime cause of creating for us the inexhaustible wealth of manufactures."

These are not the opinions of the workman, perhaps from his ignorance and prejudice; but it is worth considering also, that they are, notoriously, not the opinions of the manufacturer, and he is not prejudiced. The manufacturer is just as ready to be taught how to make money by the scientific man, as by the workman. But while he gives merely a respectful assent to the assertions of the former, he is ready to risk his reputation and his fortune on the accuracy of the other's observations. He believes that the arts are in advance of the sciences, that science cannot superintend the workshop; and, if he has attended to the subject at all, he is apt to believe that, as a general rule, it is industry, and not science, that has discovered these laws "of power, motion, and transformation." His opinions imply no disrespect to science. Science is good for its own sake; and the old philosophers, when they insisted that it ought to be studied only for its own sake, were certainly nearer the truth, than these modern ones, who dwell exclusively on its petty applications in every-day life.

There cannot be a fairer way of examining this question between the workman and the scientific man, than to study this Catalogue, to see what the workman can do, and then the Lectures, to see what the other class have to say. The classification is so admirable that it makes even the Catalogue easy and instructive reading; and it is perfectly English in its character. The French had tried

to classify "chemical, mechanical, economical," and, other arts; and at another time, "alimentary, sanitary, and vestiary," which sound something like the new names they once gave the months, — "nippy," "slippy," "dippy," &c., according to the English translation. The English took four classes, — Raw Materials, Processes, Manufactured Products, and Works in the Fine Arts; and then subdivided them again and again, into such groups as commercial experience had proved to be convenient.

Now, when we try to trace the good effects of science on the arts, we have to begin by giving up the whole of the fourth section, or the Fine Arts. Neither science nor industry has added any thing to the resources of the artist for these thousands of years. The ancients cut marble and cast bronze as well as the moderns, and sculptured granite and porphyry much better. The Hindoos, the lecturer on India says, have always understood the use of diamond-powder, in cutting hard stones, better than the Europeans do yet. There has been an enormous advance, certainly, in the facility of multiplying works of art by engraving, stamping metals, pressing clay, daguerreotyping, and electrotyping. But it is unpleasant to have to believe, that art itself is injured and deadened by these very facilities. For all our masterpieces, we have now to go back to a time when modes of copying were unknown, or difficult and little used. And these facilities have not even diffused the knowledge and enjoyment of the Fine Arts through a wider circle than formerly; in spite of the endless cheap engravings, woodcuts, and statuettes, most persons would doubt whether, of the fifty thousand people collected any day at this Exhibition, there were as many able to appreciate a fine statue, as would be found in a similar crowd in old Rome or Athens.

In the Useful Arts, there are many processes which might better be ranked among the Fine Arts, as their sole object is to please the eye; calico-printing and figure-weaving, for example; and it is admitted by the lecturers, that, as to these processes, whether or not they have been directed by science, they have not been advancing. The lecturers and newspaper writers, the School of Designs Committee, the public generally, all agree, that the Euro-

pean manufactures were utterly inferior, in point of taste, to the silks, and shawls, and carpets, the embroidery and jewelry, of Persia and India, where the arts have been stationary for thousands of years. And the point of taste is the only one for comparison. Infinite labor and ingenuity have been spent in contriving cheap processes of putting eight or nine colors at once on a piece of cloth; all to no purpose. The cloth is no better, and the eye is not pleased half as much as by the work of the Hindoos or Turks, with only two colors.

In another way, these arts, by their progress, often destroy the very pleasure they were intended to produce. There are many of the products of the arts, the principal merit of which is their costliness; to contrive a way for making them cheaply is contriving to destroy their value. The singular interest everybody took in the precious stones in the Exhibition was much commented on. It was not merely the money value of these objects, else a bundle of bank notes would have done as well. It was not their brilliancy; the Kohinoor itself was not as brilliant as its glass model at another table. Perhaps it was the uniqueness of the specimens, — the feeling of the difficulty or the impossibility of obtaining similar ones, — the same feeling that gives interest to a pencil-sketch as compared with an engraving, or carved stone-work as compared with iron castings. But the feeling exists in every one. If the border of a cashmere shawl could be made in a loom as cheaply as a piece of blanketing, nobody would be the better for it. It would degrade cashmere shawls to the level of blankets, and nobody but an Indian would wear one.

Of course, whenever an industrial process or product is found to be no better now, in Europe, than it was thousands of years ago, in Greece or Egypt, or than it is now in India or China, we are sure that science has had nothing to do with it, or at least, need not have had any thing to do with it. Accordingly, in the third section, "Manufactured Products," — we may throw out "Jewelry, and similar articles of luxury," and "Tapestry, lace, and embroidery." Then, "Decorative furniture" must also be put aside; for, from Wilkinson's book, it would seem probable, that we are as yet little in advance of the old

Egyptians in this respect. In "Cotton," it is certain we are behind the Hindoos. They sent a piece of cloth to the Exhibition, a yard wide and ten yards long, that weighed about three ounces. And they understand, too, the niceties of dressing the cloth, and making up the weight, when they please, with starch, as well as any European manufacturer. The lecturer says that, 2,600 years ago, a law was passed in India, forbidding their putting in more than ten per cent. of "Devil's dust."

In "Silk," the Chinese are not surpassed. In "Shawls," the Hindoos were not equalled. In "Leather," the lecturer says, "if Simon, the tanner of Joppa, had been able to send leather to the Exhibition, no doubt he would have carried off a medal." "Paper," it seems, came from China, by the way of the Moors in Spain. As to "Cutlery" and "Hardware," all that can be said is, that iron has taken the place of bronze. In "Glass," the Europeans cannot boast of progress till some one has equalled the Barberini vase and the glass mosaics from Egypt. The modern improvement of casting plate glass was the invention of a workman in a glasshouse. The improvements in making glass for optical purposes, it is well known, were not made by an optician or an astronomer, but by a Mr. Guinand, who got his living by making little bells for repeating watches. In "Porcelain," we are not beyond the Chinese for the material; and as to coloring, Mr. Brogniart said, in 1801, that every single invention had been the work of the artisans.

It is obvious that the remark of the lecturer about Simon of Joppa might be very much extended. He might have said that a similar Exhibition, if got up some thousands of years ago, would have been very nearly equal to this one of the nineteenth century, and very much like it, as far as the products only are concerned.

With the processes, it is just the reverse. It is as difficult to find a process that has not been improved, as a product that has been. Nearly every thing is made more cheaply, or with less labor, than formerly. Every modern improvement, from a printing-press to the electrotype, is an improvement to save labor; and in old time, there was little demand for these labor-saving improvements. India, and Egypt, and Europe too, to a

late date, were slave countries; and labor-saving machinery is never invented in slave countries. Whatever, as philanthropists, we might wish to believe, slave labor is undeniably cheap labor, as the experience of Cuba and Jamaica shows pretty fully.

To go back from the last section in the list to the first thing described in the Catalogue, — the best thing, perhaps, in the Exhibition, — the Building itself. Was that a triumph of science? The official account says, it was projected by Mr. Paxton, who began life as a gardener's apprentice, and was afterwards a head gardener, — and carried out by Mr. Fox, who had been a working mechanic, and Mr. Henderson, a plain business man; and that the people who opposed it, and who proved by their science that it could not stand, and nearly frightened the public from venturing into it, were, according to Mr. Fox's account, men of high scientific attainments, the Astronomer Royal being the most prominent among them. It is often said, in such a case, that the inventors really were, and must have been, men of science, whatever had been their past history. But this is only quibbling on the words science and knowledge. Dr. Black and Mr. Watt both discovered the facts with regard to the latent heat of steam, and at about the same time. But the first was a philosopher in search of new scientific truths; the other was a half-taught mechanic, thinking of nothing but making a fortune by patenting new contrivances for using steam. To use Prince Albert's classification, in the first case, it was a discovery of "science," in the second, of "industry."

Take the first division of the first section, "Mining and quarrying," "Metallurgy and mineral products;" the lecturer, Dr. Playfair, asserts that "science is essential to progress in this department." But we think he fails to show that the progress hitherto made has been due to science, or that, in fact, science has had much to do with the matter. He begins with what is to us the most important mineral of all, — coal. Nobody knows how soft coal was first brought into notice; but as to anthracite, the facts are well ascertained. It was not the geologists, or chemists, who first called attention to its good qualities. In Bakewell's Introduction to Geology, (1828,)

the writer laments that the coal of South Wales is anthracite, and therefore cannot be used. Anthracite was then in common use in Pennsylvania; and the Welchmen have since found out pretty well how to use it at home.

In connection with coal, the lecturer, of course, has to mention the safety lamp. This, certainly, was the invention of a philosopher, and the pertinacity with which it is always brought forward, intimates that such inventions are not very numerous. As to its utility to the miner, it certainly has not prevented colliery explosions; scarcely a week passes without one. In consequence of having these lamps, the men are induced to work in places that no one would think of entering with a naked light; and when there, if a single miner uncovers his light, or lights his pipe by sucking the flame through the wire cover, or if he drops his lamp, and a single mesh of wire is broken, or if a current of gas blows against it, or a particle of coal is inflamed by resting on it, the mine is blown up.

When the lecturer comes to the metals, he lays great stress on a new mode, invented by Professor Plattner, for working poor gold ores; but it is not pretended that it will supersede the regular processes of washing and amalgamation, — processes that are at least 2,000 years old. He then calls attention to Pattinson's patent method of desilvering lead, simply by melting the lead, and allowing it to cool slowly; nearly all the silver is found in the little portion of lead that cools last. It is easy to explain the reason, now the fact is discovered; but he does not show that the process was an application of science. It might be questioned, whether, a dozen or twenty years ago, before Mr. Pattinson tried the experiment, a chemist would have felt sure whether the lead that cooled first, or that which cooled last, would have contained the most silver.

The art of making iron is one above all others in which to look for the application of science; because it is carried to the fullest development only in highly civilized countries; and accordingly, the lecturer selects it as an example "of the teachings of chemistry." It was well represented in the Exhibition, as far as the products of the manufacturer are concerned, though, to be sure,

there was scarcely any thing there that could not have been as well seen in the iron stores. The locomotive tires, and the rails, with the wearing part made of hard crystalline iron, and the rest of tough fibrous iron, which the lecturer mentions as novelties, according to the Patent Office Reports, are by no means new. Dr. Playfair does not explain, and it is certain, that, as a scientific man, he cannot explain, how it is that a manufacturer can make a bar of iron crystalline or fibrous at pleasure. The iron paper from Bohemia was the only real novelty, and one of no very obvious value.

But as to the teachings of science; the first thing is, to find the ore bed, and science is not needed for that, for the beds in Europe were discovered long before there was any such science as Geology, and the important ones in this country were all known and worked before Geological Surveys were thought of. The next thing is, to determine the value of the ore when mined. Chemistry has tried her hand here; innumerable analyses of ores have been made; the manufacturer has been perfectly ready to be taught, if the chemist could teach him. But we believe the result is, that he finds it safer to rely, and in fact, does rely, most on the opinion of the workman, who judges merely by his eye. It is said that, in Cornwall, the same practice prevails in buying and selling copper ores. It is not so surprising, either, that the manufacturer should thus judge; for his object is to know the value of a pile of ore weighing a thousand, or ten thousand, tons. An analysis of a piece as big as a pea is worth nothing, unless one is sure that the little piece selected was an average sample of the whole heap; and there is no other way of judging of this but by the eye; so that the two processes come to about the same thing.

Besides, science itself is at fault. The French chemists confess they can find no difference between the ores from which the Dannemora iron, the best iron in the world, is made, and the ores alongside, that are of so poor a quality as not to be worth raising. Then, in smelting the ores after they are mined, the chemists have done their best to assist, by analyzing the pig iron and the slag produced by the furnaces; but to no purpose whatever. The only rule to be found in the books is, that the workman should

put into the furnace as much ore "as she will bear," and then as much limestone "as she needs," judging of both by his eye.

Dr. Playfair says of the smelting furnace, "The cold air blown in at the blast lowers the temperature and compels the addition of fuel." "Science pointed to this loss, and now the air is heated before being introduced to the furnace." "Could science do more?" We believe the fact is, science had nothing whatever to do with the matter. Instead of pointing to the loss, it certainly was always laid down in the books, that the colder and denser the air, the better; and the advantage of heating it was discovered entirely by accident, by a Mr. Neilson, engineer for a gas company, at a smith's forge. It might be doubted, from the sentences quoted, whether Dr. Playfair himself understands the subject as yet; for he does not seem to have considered, that it must take just as much coal to heat the air before it goes into the furnace, as was formerly required to heat it after it got in.

In answer to his question, "Could science do more?" he says, "Prof. Bunsen, in an inquiry in which I was glad to afford him aid, has shown that she can;" and he gives an account of their analyzing the gases escaping from a blast furnace, and proving that they could be used for heating the steam boilers. These investigations were not begun until years after nearly every furnace in this country that used steam power, from Maine to the Missouri Iron Mountain, had introduced this very process. There can be no mistake about the dates, for they were proved in court, in a late patent case in Philadelphia, the patent being for this very invention of heating steam boilers by the waste gases.

After all, the natural metals are of very little use in the world compared with the artificial ones,—the alloys. We do not use pure copper, zinc, tin, or even iron; but brass and bronze, pewter, type-metal, cast iron, and steel. The best bar iron, even, is always an alloy. The great and indispensable use of the metals is for cutting tools; and pure iron, or copper, or tin is not as good for this purpose as a sharp stone. Now, these alloys are not scientific discoveries; science cannot even explain their composition. No European understands very well how the ancients

made their bronze chisels, if they were of bronze, or how the Chinese make their gongs and mirrors. Dr. Playfair, apparently, did not discover Mr. Estivant's secret for making brass, which received the great medal. From what he says of it, it is evident that it is not enough to know the ingredients; there is a further mystery in the compounding, as there is in making a bowl of punch.

A few years since, the best chemical knowledge in Great Britain was brought to bear on the subject of making steel; a costly and elaborate series of experiments was made, and the results all published in the Philosophical Transactions; and the only effect was, to give currency for a time to "silver steel," and "platinum steel," which the manufacturers have since found to be mere follies.

In the next division, "Chemical and Pharmaceutical processes and products," there was not much exhibited that had any general interest. The lecturer, curiously enough, considers the Exhibition may be of great value to the manufacturer by calling attention to the beauty of the crystals of prussiate of potash, sulphate of copper, &c., and by inducing ladies to use them as drawing-room ornaments. He says, "if the tide of fashion should set in that direction, an additional impetus will be given to industry among the manufacturing chemists." He must have a strange idea of the extent of the chemical manufactures in Great Britain. As to the drugs, it is commonly understood that the important medicines were not discovered by the learned, but either got into use nobody knows how, or were adopted from the example of savage or half-civilized nations. In fact, as far as unprofessional people can see, science does not show to advantage in the history of medicine and surgery. Inoculation and vaccination were opposed by the doctors, in solid column; and there are curious stories told, also, of the drummer-boys in the armies knowing how to cure flesh wounds by "sucking" them, hundreds of years before the army surgeons found out the right mode of treatment.

Among the chemical processes exhibited, the great novelty to the public was the artificial essences of pears, pine apples, and other fruits. The pine apple ice-cream in the saloons, it seems, was flavored, not with pine apples, but with something prepared from a mixture of

sugar and putrid cheese; the flavors of the Jargonelle pear, apricot, greengage, and other fruits, were imitated by processes equally extraordinary; and the Lecturer says, "All these are direct modern applications of science to an industrial purpose, and imply an acquaintance with the highest investigations of organic chemistry." His account, though, leaves it in doubt whether it was the confectioner or the chemist who first discovered that the pineapple flavor could be obtained from putrid cheese. We do not know which is the true story.

As to the next two classes, "Vegetable and animal substances used as food, or in manufactures," — certainly we do not owe the knowledge of the utility of these substances to science. Dr. Whewell says, "Tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, cotton, have made man's life, and the arts which sustain it, very different from what they were in ancient times;" — thanks to commerce, not science. Men did not wait for naturalists to teach them what animals could be domesticated, and how the breeds could be improved. They knew how to graft and bud a tree, and when to tap it, before the philosophers knew any thing about the motion of the sap. Preparing the substances for food, or the great art of cookery, is not the work of scientific men. The art of preserving them, in the modern style, in air-tight canisters, may be an application of science, but certainly would not be a very difficult or far-fetched invention for a skilful cook to make. The new meat-biscuit, that attracted so much attention, made of fresh beef boiled down, kneaded with flour, and baked, was invented not in a European laboratory, but at Galveston, in Texas. In the list of processes for preparing these substances for use in manufactures, the great modern invention, every one would agree, is that of vulcanizing India rubber. By merely rubbing together India rubber and sulphur, and heating them with certain precautions, a totally new substance is produced, — something that will neither melt nor freeze, nor be attacked by acid, or oils, — nearly as hard as metal, and yet more elastic than the India rubber it was made from. It is a chemical discovery, certainly; but the mere statement of the process shows it could never have been discovered by a chemist; he would not have tried the expe-

riment, it would have appeared so silly and hopeless.

In the second grand section, "Mechanical Inventions," we should have a right to look, if anywhere, for the applications of science. The different divisions were represented very unequally, as might have been expected. There was an abundance of musical, surgical, and philosophical instruments, and contrivances for domestic use, — all sorts of things that were small, and pretty, and such as it was desirable to advertise. On the other hand, wind-mills and water-wheels, of course, could be sent only in the shape of models. Steam-engines are generally too bulky and costly to be sent to an exhibition; and the leading manufacturers are also too few, and too well known, to care for the advertising. There were several engines there, but by no means enough to give a fair representation of the different kinds now in use, even in England alone.

As it was the business of the Lecturers to report on the objects exhibited, they were led to say scarcely any thing on the most important point of all in this department, — the modes of obtaining power from wind, water, and steam. No doubt, they would have claimed all these modes as applications of science, for they commonly are so claimed, — the steam-engine, in particular. It may be worth while to look, for a moment, at the admitted facts in the history of these inventions, to see whether they sustain the claim.

Wind-mills, it is admitted, were invented by the millers, and left to them to manage, until at last the mathematicians happened to take up the subject, and investigate scientifically the proper shape and angle of the sails. But Smeaton says he found the mill the mathematicians produced would grind only eight bushels of corn, while a common unscientific Dutch mill, of the same size, would grind sixteen.

As to water-wheels, in England and this country, the millwrights were left pretty much to themselves. They introduced most of the different kinds of wheels now used, so long ago that their history is forgotten; and they knew how to select, in each case, the best wheel for the purpose. If a cheap, light wheel, running fast, was

wanted, in a place where workmanship was expensive, and water power abundant, they used an under-shot wheel, or a tub wheel. But if it was an object to economize water power, they always used an upright wheel, and put on the water, with as little shock as possible, at about "half past ten," — that is, at that point in the circumference corresponding to half past ten on a clock-face. These facts are all admitted in the books, and it is also admitted, now, that the makers were right in their selection. But in scientific works, attention is not often called to a striking instance, in France, of the effect of applying science to this subject. The mathematicians there demonstrated, to their own satisfaction, that an under-shot wheel, where the water acted by the "shock," always was, and, in the nature of things, always must be, more efficient than one of these "gravity" wheels, where it acted only by its weight; and, it is said, they succeeded in inducing the millers to take out their "gravity" wheels, that would give practically sixty per cent. of the total possible effect of the water, and put in these "impulse" wheels, which would give but thirty per cent., and that the effect of their "teachings" can be seen in some parts of France even to this day.

Again, to see the effect of applying science, take the history of Barker's recoil mill, in England. After various contradictory conclusions had been arrived at by the scientific men who discussed the subject, we find Davies Gilbert, Esq., President of the Royal Society, undertaking to give it the *coup de grâce*. He demonstrated, by mathematical reasoning, that "the recoil engine cannot, in any case, be employed to advantage." It is employed, though, and very extensively, in Scotland and this country, and is found to be about as efficient a wheel as can be made.

In the modern *Turbine*, science certainly has been applied to advantage; but science was not necessary to its invention, for, in some of its forms, it is but a slight modification of the old *Danaïde* of the French millers; or to enable a millwright to understand and use it, for, we believe, he would soon learn by experience how to draw the curves, and regulate the speed, so as to produce the best effect.

The history of the steam-engine has been written a

thousand times; and yet attention is seldom called to the glaring fact that its progress was, all of it, due to unscientific men, and was constantly in advance of the science of the day. Taking the English account of the invention, we have, first, the Marquis of Worcester. His "Century of Inventions" shows him to have been eminently unscientific, passionately fond of mechanical contrivances, but with no love of abstract truth, and not the least desire to follow out and explain the *rationale* of the extraordinary ingenious processes he hit upon. Then came Captain Savery, not an educated gentleman in the army or navy, but called "Captain" because he was a head miner;— then Newcomen, a blacksmith, Cawley, a glazier, and Humphrey Potter, a little idle boy; and then Watt, a half-taught instrument-maker, who earned his living, at first, by mending fiddles and fishing-poles. It is usual to claim much of the merit of his inventions as due to Dr. Black, in spite of Mr. Watt's own assertion that he discovered every thing about steam, that he needed to know, entirely by his own experiments; and yet, Mr. Watt's assertions might be relied on, for he had the highest possible character for fairness and candor. And as to the progress of the invention being in advance of the science of the day, it is sufficient to refer to almost any English or American work on the subject, from Mr. Watt's time down to ten or a dozen years ago, to find it laid down, that the most efficient engine was a low-pressure, condensing engine, in which, of course, there was but little chance to gain power by expanding the steam, and that the speed of the piston should bear a certain strange relation to the square root of the length of the stroke. Meanwhile, the practical men in this country insisted, as everybody knows, on using high-pressure, "expansive" engines, and running them at a speed utterly in defiance of the mathematical rule. And all this while, it seems that the practical men were right. In 1845, we find William Pole, "F. R. A. S. &c., Lecturer on Astronomy and Steam Machinery to the Indian Navy," telling his countrymen that they had been all wrong in this matter from the beginning. He says, "it must startle English engineers not a little to be told, that the high-pressure engine is both safer and more economical in its use than

the low-pressure condensing one." Still, he does, in effect, tell them so, and the number of high-pressure engines, sent by English makers to the Exhibition, shows they have begun to think so too. And as to the speed of the piston, the lecturer on machinery admits, that engine-drivers often run their engines four or five times as fast as the rule would allow, and that it must be given up as mere nonsense.

Following the classification of the Catalogue, we come now to "Machines for direct action, including carriages, and railway and naval mechanism." The steamboat, it is understood, was invented either by Fulton or Jonathan Hulls, neither of whom was supposed to be a particularly learned man. Railways were introduced by the coal-miners; and as to the locomotive, the story is well known, that Stevenson, the practical mechanic, asserted to a committee of gentlemen from the House of Commons, that he expected to see engines run more than ten miles an hour, and some of the committee afterwards inquired of his friends if he were not subject to fits of derangement.

In hydraulic machinery, there was one modern improvement, Appold's centrifugal pump, that received a council medal. It looks, though, very much like the other rotary pumps, that have been so often invented, and so uniformly abandoned after trial. The good old cylinder pump, that nothing apparently can ever supersede, was in every-day use 3,000 or 4,000 years ago; and yet, in all the books is to be found the incredible story, that, 200 years ago, a pump-maker made a sucking pump fifty feet long, expecting it would work, and had to go to Galileo to know why it did not. A pump-maker must have known how long to make his pumps, though he might not know any thing about the pressure of the air;—an Indian hunter may know nothing about the resistance of the air, but he knows perfectly how far his gun will carry. Ewbank, in his Hydraulics, suggests that the pump-maker made a fifty-feet pump, simply because it was ordered and paid for.

In the same division came the modern power-presses, well represented in the Exhibition, and much commented on by the Lecturers. Presses were exhibited there, almost as much superior to the hand-press, as this was to

the old mode of transcribing; and, fairly considered, they are as great an invention as the printing-press itself. The invention of separate types enabled a man to make 200 copies, instead of one or two, in an hour; and the invention of the glue-and-molasses inking roller enables a machine to throw off 10,000 in an hour, and very likely the number will soon be 50,000. It all depends upon the glue-and-molasses roller, — a most particularly unscientific-looking invention; for the moment this was introduced, it was the most obvious thing in the world to put the paper on another roller to be printed.

In this same division are the "Machinery and tools for working in wood and metal," of the utmost importance in modern industry, and invented, every one of them, according to the Lecturer's account, by the workmen. In fact, science has had little to do with the whole class of automatic machinery. Contrivances to make iron arms and fingers perform some process that was before done by hand, we should expect, would be made by the men who were most familiar with the process, had been employed at it themselves, and knew exactly the movements required. But after the contrivance had been invented by the workman, the scientific men might be expected to examine and discuss it, explain the theory correctly, and show the workman exactly what it was he had invented.

Now, take one of the last instances, one of the finest modern machines in the Exhibition, — Nasmyth's direct-action steam-hammer and steam pile-driver. Mr. Nasmyth takes an upright inverted steam cylinder, and attaches the hammer, a heavy mass of iron, to the end of the piston rod; the admission of the steam raises the hammer, and the escape of the steam lets it fall. So far there was nothing new; the plan had been suggested by Mr. Watt. The whole novelty was in the peculiar and beautiful contrivance for making the jar of the blow open the valves for the next stroke. This machine, patented in 1842, was brought to the notice of the British Association in 1845, and the theory explained in a way that must have astonished Mr. Nasmyth. The Lecturer considers this "brilliant invention," as he calls it, to consist in using a heavy weight raised a small distance, instead of a light weight raised a great distance, as in the old pile-driver.

He says that it requires as much steam to raise one ton four feet, as four tons one foot, — to which a mechanic would be ready to assent; and then, that four tons falling one foot produce twice the effect that one ton does falling four feet, — a proposition that no mechanic in the world will agree to. He makes the old philosophical mistake of confounding "laboring force" with "moving force," — a mistake that no mechanic could ever make. His calculations are omitted, for some reason, in the Official Report of the British Association; but a *verbatim* report of the lecture is to be found in the July number, 1845, of the Glasgow Mechanics Magazine.

With the next division, of "Civil engineering, architectural and building contrivances," it is not so clear that the arts are essentially in advance of what they were thousands of years ago. Roads and bridges, canals and aqueducts, and even syphons under the bed of a river, are very old affairs. It was a "severe strain" to the science and art of France, to erect one obelisk in Paris, while the Egyptians used to plant whole avenues of them. And in building contrivances, there is nothing more elegant in a modern house than the manner, seen at Pompeii, of warming bath-rooms by hot air in the hollow floor and walls.

Gas-lighting is undeniably modern. It is always seized upon as a grand example in the books. "Chemistry lights our houses with her gas," we are told. Now, a work in the hands of every gas engineer, "Clegg on the Manufacture of Coal Gas," gives a full history of its introduction, and a most instructive one. According to this account, it was first used by a Mr. Murdock, who was employed at a mine in Cornwall, and then taken up by Mr. Clegg, a working engineer, and introduced into cotton-mills. Mr. Clegg then came to London, to introduce it, and science was brought to bear on the subject for the first time. Sir Humphrey Davy sneered at Mr. Clegg's plans; Sir Joseph Banks, and other members of the Royal Society, reported against them. Parliament passed laws interfering with the manufacture. Still Mr. Clegg persevered. He laid down the pipes on Westminster Bridge, and lighted the lamps every night himself; and he forced the thing through at last, in spite of Sir Humphrey Davy and the Royal Society.

In the next division, comes "Naval Architecture." There is no pretence that science is the basis of this art. It is not supposed that the lines of the yacht America were calculated by mathematicians, seeking for the "solid of least resistance." The Lecturer on India finds that the lines of this yacht correspond with those of the Sampan of the Malayan Seas. She had already been proved to be a copy of a Deal fishing-boat, and to be nothing but Mr. Scott Russell's wave-line boat. It is to be hoped it will not be denied, that, somehow or other, she was really built in New York. In the lecture on Naval Architecture, there is a fine instance of the assumptions sometimes made by learned men in behalf of their class. The Lecturer dwells earnestly on the importance of lifeboats on the coast of such a country as England. He gives a full history of their invention and improvement, and shows that, from the beginning to the end, it was the work of boat-builders and shipwrights, — Beeching of Yarmouth, Hinks of Appledore, Bromley of Sheerness, and so on; and concludes by saying, — "it affords additional evidence that many of the working classes are thinking men, and it evinces a desire to improve, that is highly creditable to them." Really, there is a sort of intelligence sometimes manifested among the working classes, highly gratifying for a gentleman to observe.

The other part of this same division, "Ordnance, armor, and accoutrements," was exceedingly well represented; every thing was there, from the Hindoo chain-mail to Colt's repeating pistols. The Lecturer doubts whether they had any right there at all; but we believe some one suggested, that, as the Kohinoor and other trophies of war were exhibited among the products of industry, it was but reasonable to exhibit the implements of the particular kind of industry by which they had been procured. Other writers, in discussing the question whether they ought to have been exhibited, dwell on the stereotyped assertion that the invention of gunpowder was a great gain to the cause of humanity. It is difficult to see how. Gunpowder, unluckily, is just as efficient on the wrong side as the right, as Punch intimates in his picture of a burglar carefully studying the mysteries of Colt's revolver.

The history of the successive inventions in firearms

affords excellent instances of the way in which the same thing is often invented, and reinvented, again and again, until at last it stands, no particular reason appearing why it did not succeed the first time. In the Museum of Artillery in Paris, all sorts of revolving barrels and many-chambered guns are to be seen, introduced when the old wheel-lock was used, again invented with the flint, and again with the percussion lock. There is one old contrivance there, that has never been repeated, some practical difficulty being in the way; but it has a charming simplicity. Several charges are put at once into the same barrel, one on the top of the other, and then fired in succession by a sliding lock.

In the division of "Manufacturing Tools," an American would naturally look at the cotton machinery, exhibited in detail there, in all the processes. It has been said, by a high authority, that "not a little of the spinning machinery is constructed on principles drawn from the demonstrations of transcendental mathematics." And yet it is well known that the inventors were Wyatt, a Birmingham mechanic, Hargreaves, a common laborer, Arkwright, a barber's apprentice, assisted by Kay, a watchmaker, and followed by Crompton, a weaver. They left nothing for the mathematicians to invent but the double speeder; and that, it was proved in a patent case, was invented simultaneously by Paul Moody, a mechanic here, and by some other man, said to be a workman, in Great Britain. The double speeder is the only one of the machines to which it is conceivable that transcendental mathematics could be applied; and it is not very easy to see there, why the four rules of arithmetic would not do as well. The yarn is spun, and delivered to the bobbin, at a regular rate, and the bobbin must turn just enough faster than the flyer to wind it up. Every schoolboy that ever wound a ball of twine can see, that, as the bobbin gets full of yarn, it winds up more at each turn. Accordingly, the fuller it gets, the slower it must turn; and it would seem as if, by measuring a full bobbin and an empty one, and counting the number of layers of yarn, a workman could find out how much the speed should be slackened for each layer.

The power-loom was the only thing wanting; — that,

it seems, was invented by a clergyman, Dr. Cartwright, not because he was acquainted with the hand-loom, for he says he had never seen one, but because he had seen the automaton chess-player, — and as he told his Manchester friends, he was sure it must be easier to make an automaton weaving-machine than an automaton chess-player. His illustration was a bad one, for it has been pretty well proved since, that the chess-player was not an automaton at all, but was moved by a man concealed in the chest. Still, the argument was unanswerable, though how any one could suppose that a piece of mechanism could play chess we cannot imagine: a man might as well say he had seen an automaton that could guess riddles, or bet on the race-course. It is a little curious that Vaucanson, who made real automata, also made a power-loom, thirty years earlier than this one of Dr. Cartwright's, and vastly superior to it, though, for some unaccountable reason, it was never brought into use. In fact, a power-loom was a trifle to a man who made the famous "Automaton Duck;" at least, if it were, as it was said to be, the same automaton that was exhibited in this country two or three years since.

Another automaton exhibited here, which attracted no attention, and was slighted as a mere toy, was evidently made on the principle of the Jacquard loom for figure-weaving, the great "sight" always for visitors now to the manufacturing towns. Mr. Jacquard, by the way, was no exception to the rule that the great inventions are all made by workmen. He was a straw-hat manufacturer. With the automaton, the visitor selected any one of a number of porcelain disks, with questions printed on them, shut it up in the drawer of the machine, and the right answer was immediately exhibited above. It was managed exactly in the same way as the cards in the Jacquard loom are used, to bring out the pattern, the weaver having no need to know what the pattern is that he is to weave. It was quite an old invention, very likely older than the Jacquard loom; for it is well known that many of the modern refinements in mechanism were introduced in automata, before they got into use in the manufacturing machines. Some of these automata are still unequalled for the delicacy and refinement of

their mechanical contrivances. There was a little figure that drew pictures, exhibited in Boston a few years ago, that, for mere mechanism, was as far beyond a chronometer as that is beyond a smoke-jack. The hand was moved by levers which pressed on variously shaped wheels in the box below; it would require nice calculation to determine the shape of the wheels needed to make the hand describe a simple circle; but when it comes to a complicated drawing, — for instance, of a man-of-war, which the figure drew perfectly, every line in the rigging being shown, — the amount of labor required is perfectly appalling.

There is one art, naturally suggested by these automata, that, like them, had no place in the Exhibition, though it well deserved one, either among the Useful Arts, or the Fine Arts; and that is, the art of juggling. It is interesting, at least, as being one of the oldest arts in the world; and besides, like so many other arts, it has often been in advance of science. The jugglers used to handle melted lead and white hot iron, hundreds or thousands of years before M. Boutigny made his experiments. The magic bottle, from which any one of a given number of liquids can be poured at pleasure, will be allowed to be a delicate hydraulic contrivance; and yet it can be proved that it was in use at least two thousand years ago, long enough before the science of hydraulics existed. But we believe the real use of the art is, as Beckmann, in his History of Inventions, says, "that it serves as a most agreeable antidote to superstition, and that popular belief in miracles, exorcism, conjuration, sorcery, and witchcraft, from which our ancestors suffered so severely." If Beckmann were alive now, he might think the posterity of our ancestors was suffering slightly from the same cause, and he might be induced to substitute the words "scientific belief" for "popular belief." It was not so much the lower class, as it was men of education and standing, who believed, a few years since, in Prince Hohenlohe's miracles and Joanna Southcote's messiahship. It is principally the scientific men now who believe that a mesmerized patient can see through a pine board, or a brick wall; and even the last phase of "belief," the idea that, at any time, for a quarter of a dollar, a ghost will

come into the room and tip over the table, it is well known, is not confined to the class of uneducated people.

To these kinds of "belief," the study of the elaborate French treatises on juggling, in their Encyclopedias and *Manuels*, could hardly fail to act as an antidote. The student would find that, at least, there was nothing new in the mesmeric exhibitions and the "spirit-rappings"; that the juggler had always known how to perform them, though whether or not his process was the same as that which the mesmerizer and "medium" used, remains to be seen.

For instance, the Hindoo jugglers have always had the art of "snake charming." By mere gestures, and the beat of a drum, they compel a snake to come out of his hole, and to come into their basket,—a perfect parallel to the exhibitions of the mesmerizers, compelling persons among the audience to come up to the stage, by merely willing it, and making gestures. The Hindoo trick consists in training a tame snake to come to be fed at the sound of the drum and smuggling him into the hole just before the performance begins; and with the mesmerized patient, it is barely possible there may have been some slight training beforehand.

So, too, the jugglers were in advance of the "biologists, in exhibiting muscular rigidity in the patient, induced by the will of the operator." It is an old trick of the jugglers, when they find they have got a subject sufficiently "impressible," or, to use a more familiar phrase, sufficiently "soft," to tell him, with a certain look and tone, that he cannot open his hand; and, true enough, he cannot open it, as he asserts and believes.

Admirable *clairvoyant* experiments have always been performed by jugglers, sometimes by the help of such devices as concealed mirrors, or cards so marked as to be distinguished by the touch,— more often, by means of a well-arranged code of signals with a confederate. And as to spirit-rappings and tippings, a very slight acquaintance with the material resources of the juggler, in the way of hairs, wires, trap-doors, &c., would show how they could be imitated. No doubt, to make a successful *clairvoyant*, or spirit-medium, a person should possess, in a high degree, the peculiar intelligence and tact of the

old-fashioned fortune-teller; but for the mere experiments themselves, these treatises show that the most ordinary juggling tricks are abundantly sufficient; and so long as they are, it seems very idle to talk of ghosts, and "the mesmeric fluid." It is a cardinal rule in philosophy, never to invent a new cause, as long as the old ones, known to exist, are sufficient. It would be the easiest thing in the world to try an *experimentum crucis*, and settle forever whether mesmerism, "tippings," &c., were mere juggling. The *clairvoyant*, for instance, might prove he could always break the bank, in playing *rouge et noir*, or "twenty-one," by knowing the card before it was turned up; — the ghost might be induced to pick up an apple in the middle of the field, or to trundle a wheelbarrow down street in open day.

Mais revenons à nos moutons. A great industrial museum and school has often been attempted before; but certainly, never on such a scale, or with such advantages, as in this Exhibition. It covered eighteen acres of ground, and cost millions of pounds; the Queen and the Prince gave all their personal influence to it; all the European governments aided, and a body of the most distinguished scientific men in Great Britain devoted to it all their time for months. And yet, as a museum and a school, it was, we believe, an utter failure. If it really had contained, as was intended, all the materials, and all the machines, and all the products, of the arts, it would have covered, instead of eighteen acres, more than eighteen square miles. The machines and tools for working in wood or metal, for instance, — the patented ones alone, — if placed in a row, with room to work, would extend some leagues. Or, take calico printing: suppose there were to be exhibited samples of every tree and shrub, every animal substance and every mineral, from which the drugs are obtained, then all the drugs, and all the processes for obtaining them, and all their preparations when obtained, all the dyeing and printing apparatus, and all the different styles of patterns, — eighteen acres would not give half room enough.

And the museum must be perfect; every process and machine, in use and out of use, must be there, or the inventor cannot go there to see if his invention be really

new; any doubt about its completeness destroys its utility. It is easy enough to see, in the manufactories, almost all the processes, and in the shops, almost all the products. The very use of the museum is to give absolutely all. So far as they go, the manufactories and the shops are vastly superior to any formal exhibition. Machines should be seen at real work, not at make-believe. Manufactured articles must be handled, smelled at, tasted, — not merely looked at in a glass case. A wine-grower would hardly think of studying his trade by looking at the labels of a long row of sealed bottles, standing in a museum.

The plan itself, we believe, was simply, clearly, one impossible to execute, — one that no manufacturer, no person who knew what manufactures really are, in extent and amount of detail, would ever for a moment have supposed to be possible.

Art. V. — 1. *Speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the Coinage and Seigniorage Bill.* By R. M. T. Hunter, Senator from Virginia. Washington. 1852.

2. *Speech delivered in the House of Representatives in Congress, June 15th, 1852, against an Amendment proposed to the California Mint Bill, for charging a Seigniorage on the Coinage of Gold; and a Report on the same Subject.* By James Brooks, Representative from New York. Washington: Published in the National Intelligencer.

3. *The Banker's Magazine and Statistical Register.* Edited by J. Smith Homans. Volume VI., from July, 1851, to June, 1852, inclusive. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 8vo. pp. 1020.

It is now generally admitted, that we are on the eve of a great revolution in the commercial world, to be caused by a considerable decline in the value of money. The precious metals, after maintaining a nearly uniform value for over two centuries, are now, owing to a sudden

and immense increase of the supply of gold, to undergo a great change, not only in their relation to each other, but in their value as compared with that of all other commodities in the world. This change is not to be a merely nominal one. It might seem, indeed, that, as the precious metals are a universal measure of value, any depreciation of them would amount only to a general rise of prices, all commodities being affected in precisely the same ratio, so that their relation to each other would remain unaltered. This is true; such a change would not benefit or injure any one. But all stipulations for the payment of money at a future day will be really affected to the full extent of the change which the precious metals may undergo while the contract is outstanding. A single instance will enable us to see the vast importance, in this respect, of a depreciation in the value of money. The national debt of Great Britain, that great incubus which has been supposed to be immovably fixed upon the shoulders of the nation, and which has been properly regarded as putting the English people under very heavy bonds to keep the peace, as any considerable enlargement of it by another war would make the burden wellnigh intolerable, — this mountain of debt, should the expected change take place, will shrink into a molehill. It may all be paid off in a few years, with as little effort as it now costs to pay merely the interest. A revolution which will have this effect, and a proportional one on all other contracts to deliver money at a future day, may well be considered a momentous one.

But though the fact that such a revolution is at hand is now generally admitted, people have very vague ideas about its nature and probable extent, and about the measures which ought to be taken to prepare for it and mitigate the shock. It may be worth while, therefore, to consider the subject at some length, especially as it affords some beautiful illustrations of the theory of money. The first points to be considered are, the probable extent of the depreciation, and the time within which it may be expected. Fortunately there is one example on record of a perfectly similar change, the study of which will throw great light upon the present inquiry. We refer, of course, to the depreciation in value of the precious

metals which took place over two hundred years ago, in consequence of the vastly increased supply from the mines of South America and Mexico.

We do not need to know the whole amount of gold and silver which was actually in use in the world, either as coin, plate, or articles of luxury, before the discovery of America. It is a well-ascertained principle in political economy, that the permanent or average value of a commodity depends, not on the larger or smaller stock of it which men possess, but on the average cost of its production. If the stock is ever so large, the value of it cannot *permanently*, or for a long period of years, fall below this cost of production; for, as the labor of obtaining more would not be remunerated, no more would be produced; and the constant consumption would steadily diminish the stock, till the value of what remained would rise high enough to pay the laborer for the effort of procuring a fresh supply. On the other hand, if the stock is ever so small, no one will pay more for any portion of it than it would cost him to raise or manufacture the article for himself. There may be slight fluctuations of price, depending on the fluctuating ratio of the supply to the demand; but the steady average value, the point about which the price oscillates, never departing far from it in either direction, is the average cost of production.

It is important to recollect this, as some have supposed that the great addition to the stock of gold, made by the supply from Russia, California, and Australia within three years, must cause an almost immediate depreciation of its value. But till it is ascertained that this is a permanent increase of supply, and that the newly-discovered auriferous districts will continue for many years to yield as much as they have done during the past twelvemonth, so as to affect the *average* cost of production, the change of value must be quite small.

But this point will be considered hereafter. We have adverted to it now, only to prove that the laborious and ineffectual calculations, which some have made in attempting to ascertain how much gold and silver existed in the world before the American mines were worked, are not needed. It is enough if we can form some estimate, though a very vague one, of the average annual

product of these metals during the Middle Ages, and down to the time of Columbus. The data are few and uncertain; but they allow us to say very positively, that the average annual supply did not then exceed three millions of dollars.*

How much was this increased by the supplies from America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Humboldt is here the only authority generally relied upon; and as he made very extensive and laborious investigations, was well acquainted with all that had been written upon the subject, had ready access to official sources of information unknown to former writers, was well versed in the theory and practice of mining, and critically examined some of the most celebrated mines, it is probable that his statements are a very near approximation to the truth. He tells us that the annual supplies of the precious metals obtained from America were as follows.

	Dollars a year on an average.
From 1492 to 1500	250,000
" 1500 to 1545	3,000,000
" 1545 to 1600	11,000,000
" 1600 to 1700	16,000,000
" 1700 to 1750	22,500,000
" 1750 to 1803	35,300,000

We see, then, that in the first half of the sixteenth century, the supplies from America had doubled the annual product. In the latter half of this century, they rendered it nearly five times as large. In the seventeenth century, it became over six times, and in the eighteenth, over eleven times, larger than it was before 1500. The great increase in the latter half of the sixteenth century was owing to the discovery of the mines of Potosi, which were first systematically worked in 1545.

How great and how rapid a depreciation of the value of money was caused by this vast increase of supply? Here, again, the means for forming an opinion are very imperfect, being chiefly an extensive and laborious comparison of the prices, at different periods, of certain leading commodities, which are in uniform and perpetual de-

* As late as 1800, Humboldt estimates that all the European and Asiatic mines did not yield annually more than five millions of dollars.

mand. The staple articles of food, such as grain and meat, are the best for this purpose, as it may be presumed that they are not often produced in larger quantities than are wanted, and as nearly the same amount of labor is required for the production of a given quantity of them in one century as in another. If a genuine record can be obtained of the prices actually paid, at one place, for such articles for a long series of years, the variations, if any, in the value of the precious metals during those years may be deduced from it, allowance being made, of course, for any alterations of the quantity of pure metal passing under the same denomination of coin, and for the state of the coinage, whether worn and clipped, or fresh and perfect. Such a record is found in the accounts of Eton College, and in the lists of prices collected by Bishop Fleetwood and M. Duprè de St. Maur. The conclusions deduced by various writers from these accounts do not agree very well; but the variations do not materially affect the result for the purpose which we now have in view. We select the computations made by Adam Smith, as they were made with great care and knowledge of the subject, and have been generally accepted by later writers on political economy.

Adam Smith says the American mines do not seem to have produced any effect upon prices till after 1570, though the mines of Potosi had then been actively worked for a quarter of a century. Between 1595 and 1620, silver fell to about one third of its former value; and about 1636, it had fallen to one fourth part of that value, where it has remained with little variation almost to the present day. Before 1570, a quarter (eight bushels) of wheat of middle quality was sold in England, on an average of a long period of years, for about *two* ounces of pure silver; about 1600, (still taking an average of many years, so that the very good and very bad crops may offset each other,) the price had advanced to a little over *six* ounces; about 1636, it had risen to nearly *eight* ounces. The present average value of a quarter of wheat in England, since the repeal of the Corn Laws, does not vary much from forty-three shillings, which contain almost exactly eight ounces of pure silver.

Comparing these results with the table already given

of the annual product of the precious metals, we find, 1. *That doubling the annual product of money for half a century had no effect on its value, or did not raise prices at all;* 2. *That making the annual product five times as great had no effect upon its value for five-and-twenty years, after which time, however, the value gradually fell to one third of what it had been;* 3. *That thirty-six years after the annual product had become over six times as great, the value had fallen to one fourth of its former amount;* 4. *That from* 1636 *to* 1846, *two hundred and ten years, the value of the precious metals underwent no material alteration, though meanwhile the annual supply of them had become eleven or twelve times greater than what it had been before the discovery of America.*

Such was the result of the only experiment recorded in history, which enables us to form any conjecture as to the probable effect upon the money market of the vast addition which has been made to the annual supply of gold within a few years by the discoveries in Russia, California, and Australia. To make the comparison clear and obvious, we have stated the results in their broadest form, or with the fewest limitations and doubts; we shall afterwards have considerations to suggest which may materially modify the conclusions to be drawn from this statement. The figures for the other term of the comparison may be found in a former article; but as they are there given only in Troy weight, and with reference to the single question as to the relative value of the two precious metals, it is worth while to bring them together, and state them over again, in Federal money. One pound Troy of *pure* silver equals about $15.57. One pound Troy of *pure* gold is almost exactly $248.00, according to the present value of the eagle.

About the year 1800, the annual supply of gold amounted to $12,648,000, and of silver to $36,289,008; making a total of $48,937,008. There is reason to believe that the large portion of this product, which was furnished by the American mines, was rather increased than diminished up to 1810, when the contest began which finally produced the independence of the Spanish American colonies. The revolutionary troubles, and the proscription of the old Spanish families to whom the

mines chiefly belonged, caused the works in many cases to be abandoned, and there was a great falling off of the product. Mr. Jacob estimated, that, for the twenty years ending with 1829, they did not yield annually over $20,000,000, or considerably less than half of their former product. But he evidently exaggerates the falling off; and the estimate which Mr. McCulloch formed in 1834 may be safely extended to the whole period, making the annual supply from all parts of the earth to be $30,000,000. Soon after 1834, the gold product of the Russian mines and washings began to swell the amount very rapidly, so that Mr. McCulloch affirmed, in 1845, that if the supply from this source should continue a few years longer, it would cause a fall in the value of gold as compared with silver and with every thing else. In 1847, it had raised the annual supply from all parts of the world to $67,000,000, making it nearly one third larger than it had been in 1800. But what was this to the astounding results produced by the discovery of the Californian and Australian gold washings? The estimates already given make the total product of gold for the present year to be $138,384,000, and of silver about, $39,900,000, forming a total of $178,284,000.

Bringing together these amounts, and using the nearest round numbers, as we are dealing only with estimates, we have this table.

	Annual average.
From 1800 to 1809	$49,000,000
" 1810 to 1836	30,000,000
" 1847	67,000,000
" 1852	178,000,000

The supply for the present year, then, is nearly six times larger than the annual product twenty years ago, and about three and a half times larger than the greatest amount obtained in any one year before 1840. As yet, little perceptible effect has been produced upon the market value, because the increase has been very sudden. But even if we allow that the maximum has been obtained, it may reasonably be concluded, should there be no material falling off for five years longer, that there will be a steady but slow depreciation in the value of gold; and should the annual supply be maintained at or near

the present amount for a quarter of a century, money will sink to a fourth part of its former value, if not still lower. There are indications that the maximum has been reached, but as yet there are no tokens of falling off. Notwithstanding the great increase in the number of laborers, the Californian supply this year will hardly, if at all, exceed that of 1851; and then the amount obtained in 1853 from this source will most probably be lessened. The deficiency, it is true, will be made up by the product of the Australian washings, which, so far as we can judge from the result in California, have not yet yielded the largest annual supply of which they are capable. It may be safe to estimate, that, for a few years longer, the increase in one quarter will offset the diminution in the other.

The great difference between the experiment which was tried two or three centuries ago, and that which is now in progress, is, that, in the former case, far the greater part of the addition which was made to the world's stock of the precious metals was in silver, while nearly the whole of the present increase is in gold. And this is a very important difference, as regards the question of the probable long continuance of the enlarged annual product. Silver is obtained by mining, and the veins which are worked are most frequently found to grow richer as they are followed into the bowels of the earth. The expense of working them increases as we descend, but the steadily increasing product is more than an offset for this enlarged cost. Gold, on the other hand, is generally obtained by washing from a superficial deposit of gravel and sand. It is chiefly found in what the geologists call "the drift," and in a stratum of it of no great thickness. Being thus spread out over a great extent of ground, and lying at or near the surface, almost any number of persons can be engaged in obtaining it without impeding each other's operations. If, also, as is the case in California, and to a great extent in Australia, the land in the auriferous district has been but imperfectly, or not at all, appropriated either by individuals or the government, — if it is in the main open to all comers, as the Great Bank is to all fishermen, — then, large as the district may be, it will soon be covered with gold-hunters. The most promis-

ing localities will be quickly exhausted; and then, every year, the labor of gathering the shining dust will increase, and the returns will diminish. The experience of California is conclusive on this point. There can be no doubt that the average gains of each washer are now considerably less than they were two years ago. True, the first search is generally imperfect, and a second washing of the same gravel, with more care and method, may afterwards yield a fair profit. So, also, the solid rock, though it be tough quartz, in which the gold spangles now found in the drift were originally imbedded, may be crushed and ground by heavy machinery, and a supply of auriferous sand and gravel be thus obtained by artificial means, in addition to that which natural agencies have spread out over the surface. So we may not anticipate that the gold-fever will subside as rapidly as it rose, or that the gold-bearing districts will ever be *completely* exhausted. Still, two processes must always be more laborious and expensive than one, and the ground will no longer be open to every comer, though he has no other capital than a stout pair of arms, and a great capacity of enduring fatigue. When the business is all reduced to pounding up primary or metamorphic rocks with machines which are yet to be invented, and to washing gravel for the second time, it is reasonable to expect, that, although capitalists may get a fair return for their enterprise, the steamships will no longer bring home gold at the rate of three or four millions a month.

Taking all these considerations into view, together with the fact that we have now three great gold-bearing regions to depend upon, so distant from each other as Russia, California, and Australia, it will not be deemed incautious to anticipate, that *the annual supply of the precious metals will not fall below a hundred millions of dollars for many years, and that, within a quarter of a century, this supply will depreciate money to one half or one third of its present value.*

Very good reasons have been given why the discovery of the American mines, and the influx into the market of eleven times as much silver as before, did not reduce its value in the same proportion, but only in the ratio of 4 to 1; and why, when the ratio of the quantity of silver to

that of gold was as 45 to 1, the ratio of their values was only as 1 to 15. In commerce and the arts, chiefly on account of its inferior cost, silver has been far more generally in use than gold. It has supplied much the larger portion of the currency of all nations. With some nations of the East, the Chinese for instance, gold is not used at all for this purpose. Even on the continent of Europe, silver is, in many cases, the only legal tender, gold being merely an article of merchandise, which is sold at an *agio* that fluctuates from week to week, though, of course, few people will refuse to receive it in payment. Silver, again, is much in use as plate and for other articles of luxury; all but the very poorest families in this country have at least a few silver spoons; and the aggregate existing in this form, in plate, watches, pencils, &c., probably much exceeds the quantity which circulates as money. Gold is in some use for trinkets, but in very little for plate, except by crowned heads. Silver must always be used for the smaller pieces of money, at least until gold has fallen much below its present value. Our gold dollar piece is inconveniently small, and will not probably come into general circulation, unless there should be some alteration in its form.

The general principle is, that the value of money falls in precisely the same ratio in which its quantity is increased. If the whole money in circulation should be doubled, prices would be doubled; if it was only increased one fourth, prices would rise one fourth. This is not the case with commodities generally, the value of which does not vary in the same ratio with the excess or deficiency of the supply; because the desire, being for the thing itself, may be stronger or weaker, and the amount of what people are willing to expend upon it, being always limited, may be very unequally affected by the difficulty or facility of attainment. But money is desired as the means of purchasing every thing, and the demand for it, therefore, consists of every thing which people have to sell.

The principle, however, even in the case of money, holds good only under the supposition that the quantity of commodities, the number of exchanges, and the number of people having occasion to effect exchanges, remain

unaltered. Otherwise, if there be an increase in either of these respects, the quantity of money being unchanged, the value of that money will rise; or if that money is increasing, the increase in these other respects may neutralize, wholly or in part, the depreciation of that money. This was the case after the discovery of America. There was an immense enlargement of commerce and manufactures at that period, and a great improvement in the modes of living. The discovery of America itself, and of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and the colonization of the West by Europeans, greatly enlarged the demand for money. Before 1500, vastly the larger portion of the people were engaged in agriculture; they raised most of the articles which they needed by their own labor, and obtained many others by direct barter. Afterwards, many were diverted into commercial and manufacturing pursuits, and the consequent division of labor greatly increased the number of proper mercantile exchanges. The middle classes now first came into notice as a distinct power in the state. As wealth advanced, luxury grew apace. The actual consumption of the precious metals, by abrasion of the coin, the wear of plate, lace, and trinkets, by plating and gilding, and by losses through shipwreck or fire, became considerable.

It is easy to perceive why, under such circumstances, the supply having become eleven times as great, the value fell only to one fourth of what it had been. On the other hand, why the value did not advance again, in the century during which the supply was nearly stationary, though commerce, wealth, and luxury were still rapidly increasing, is a point which requires explanation. But as society advances, means are discovered for economizing the use of money. The vast extension of credit; the establishment of banks, and especially of savings' banks, which bring together and keep in active use a vast number of small sums, which would otherwise be hoarded or lie dormant in the hands of individuals; the circulation of bank-notes, checks, and bills of exchange, which perform nearly all the functions of money; and, more than all perhaps, the introduction of accounts current among traders, by which purchases are set off against sales, and commodities are thus virtually bartered for commodities,

money being needed only at the final settlement, and then only to a trifling amount, — all are expedients for completing exchanges without the actual transfer of coin. Only the rapidly extended use of these expedients could have prevented a considerable rise in the value of money, and consequent fall of prices, between 1810 and 1840, when the annual supply of the precious metals was much diminished, and the operations of commerce greatly enlarged.

Is it probable that the effect of the present vastly increased supply of the precious metals will be, to any considerable extent, retarded or neutralized by an increased demand for money, through the growth of luxury and trade? We see no circumstances likely to produce this result, except the colonization of the gold-bearing regions themselves; and even this can have comparatively little influence. These countries, it is true, are very distant from the world's great centres of commerce and wealth, and their population grows with marvellous rapidity. In all distant colonies, and especially in those formed under the excitement of searching for gold, the various expedients for economizing the use of money are slowly introduced and imperfectly developed. Time is needed to import the machinery of banking and all the refinements of trade, and especially for the establishment of confidence in the community, so that large operations can be conducted upon credit. For many years, at least, California and Australia must use chiefly a hard money currency, while large amounts of bullion will be *in transitu*, — wandering about, as it were, from one country to another, to find where they will be of most value, — before they pass into active circulation as currency. But these circumstances can impede the result only for a few years; they cannot materially lessen or weaken it. Perfect as the machinery of trade now is, and perfectly as it is understood, no country which is colonized by commercial nations can remain far behind the mother land in the use of money-saving expedients. It seems most probable that the general principle will hold, that the value of money will fall in the same ratio in which the average annual supply of it is increased.

Leaving all these preliminary considerations, then, we come to the main question; — Is there any thing in the

prospect of a great decline in the value of money to create serious uneasiness and alarm? We suppose that the decline will be gradual, that it will be spread over many years, that at least a quarter of a century must elapse before it can be completed. There will be a rise in the prices of all commodities, with a corresponding increase in wages and salaries. Labor will be higher paid, both because it will be more productive, or in other words, the articles it produces will have a greater nominal value, and because the cost of living will be greater, so that, if wages and salaries did not rise, the labor could not be had. The rise of prices being general, will consequently be only nominal; that is, one commodity may be bartered for another on just the same terms as before. If, now, when flour is five dollars a barrel, it takes five barrels of flour to buy one coat, after money has fallen to one half of its present value, the coat can still be had for five barrels of flour; but it will then be said to be worth fifty dollars, and the flour to be ten dollars a barrel, instead of five. In this narrow view of the subject, therefore, or so far as this effect extends, no one will be directly benefited, and no one directly injured.

With respect to outstanding obligations, or contracts to deliver money at a future day, the case will be different. If I borrow one hundred dollars at a time when that sum will purchase twenty barrels of flour, or an equivalent amount of other commodities, and am not called upon to repay it till money has so far fallen in value that the sum will buy only ten barrels, the debt is really cancelled by returning only one half of the value which was borrowed. To this extent, therefore, every one will be benefited so far as he owes money, and will be injured so far as he has money to receive. But in either case, he will be affected only by the amount of the depreciation which takes place in the interval between the contraction of the debt and its payment. If twenty-five years elapse before the depreciation is completed, and if it take place uniformly, or at the rate of two per cent. a year, then all promises to pay, which have not more than a year to run, will not be affected to the extent of more than two per cent. Now, vastly the larger number of contracts that are made in the ordinary course of busi-

ness, are completed within the year; they will not be so much affected by the general decline in the value of money as they often have been by the common fluctuations of interest, and by changes in the price of particular commodities. Often, within the last ten years, money has been borrowed when the current rate of interest did not exceed five per cent. a year, and the time of repaying it has come when it could with difficulty be had at one per cent. a month. We may say, generally, then, that all the common transactions of business will not be sensibly affected by the great change which is in prospect.

But all fixed money payments which are now contracted for, and have many years to run, will be seriously affected by the coming alteration; that portion of them which extends over a full quarter of a century, will experience the full effect of it. All government stocks, and other stocks yielding a fixed rate of interest, and not bearing any obligation to be paid off in a few years, all bank stock, and other permanent investments of money yielding income only under the form of interest, and all property let on long leases at a fixed annual rent, must decline in value with the money which they represent. Such stocks, and the property also, if the lease be a perpetual one, when the depreciation is complete, will possess only half their present *relative* value. The nominal income yielded by them will remain the same, but it will only purchase half as many commodities as before. There will be no actual loss to the community, for what one loses, another gains. The British tax-payer, for instance, will profit by the whole amount of the British fundholders' loss. As the depreciation goes on, taxation may be extended *pari passu*, without throwing any additional burden upon the community; and a sinking-fund, formed out of the surplus thus obtained, would pay off the national debt in less than one generation. As such stocks, moreover, are transferable, and frequently pass from hand to hand, the total loss upon any portion of them will seldom fall on one person; it will be divided among many, and thus be distributed among the wealthier portion of the community, who, profiting in their capacity as tax-payers by the depreciation which occasions this loss, will have no great reason to complain.

Life annuitants, persons who have insured their lives, mortgagees on long periods, and those who have let property on permanent or long leases, will be almost the only class compelled to bear the loss without any direct compensation or means of escape. The funds of public institutions and of individuals, which exist in the form of floating capital, or what is usually called "money at interest," will, of course, suffer the full effect of the depreciation; but, as the ownership of real estate is commonly connected with the possession of such funds, and as the value of real estate will rise even in a higher ratio than the prices of commodities, owing to the general eagerness to secure the only form of permanent investment which will not be affected by the decline in the value of money, the loss in this case will not be generally without compensation.

The rates of interest cannot be directly altered by the change. If gold sinks to half of its present value, the $100 of principal, and the $6 of annual interest for it, will be affected in precisely the same ratio; both sums will purchase but half as much of any given commodity as can now be obtained for them. Being affected in the same manner, and to the same degree, their relation to each other will remain unaltered. Indirectly, however, a slight diminution in the rates of interest will probably be produced. The great addition to the stock of the precious metals will appear, at first, in the form of floating capital, seeking investment; it will swell the specie reserves of the banks, making them eager to extend the circulation of their notes. Thus, until the prices of commodities begin to be sensibly affected, there will be more lenders than borrowers, and money will be offered at a lower interest. This is the case even now. In consequence of the influx of gold, the specie reserves of the banks are distended to repletion. The Bank of England has the enormous sum of twenty-two millions sterling in its vaults, or nearly 110 millions of dollars, which is about double the amount that is usually considered a safe basis for its circulation. On the strength of this large reserve, its charter allows it to issue in bank-notes thirty-six millions of pounds sterling; but all its efforts cannot raise the active circulation over twenty-three millions. The Bank of France, also,

has specie to the amount of 120 millions of dollars, or far more than it needs. Our own Sub-Treasury, or government Exchequer, has about seventeen millions; and our banks have more than they know what to do with. Supported by these heavy amounts of specie in their vaults, the banks of England, France, and America might safely increase their issues of notes to a very great extent; and they must so increase them, or their profits will be much diminished. Accordingly, they press more accommodation upon their customers, and money is offered at very low rates. Everywhere there appears to be a superfluity of currency, or of money seeking investment, which must soon produce its usual results. A speculating fever cannot be long delayed, and then will come the rise of prices, and the old rates of interest will be restored.

It is only the coin in active circulation which operates directly upon prices. What is in the vaults of the banks is dormant in this respect, its office being only to guard the really active portion of the currency against frequent and sudden fluctuations. The effects of an influx or efflux of the precious metals are first felt on these bank reserves, which so far retard or deaden the shock, that it is not even perceptible by the community at large till the increase or drain has become very serious. Then, even the banks begin to feel the pressure. After an unnatural inflation of prices by a speculating fever, the heavy importations of goods, and consequent heavy exportations of specie, so far diminish these specie reserves, which are their ballast, that they find they must furl sail, or contract their paper issues, if they would not be thrown on their beam-ends. On the other hand, an anomalous state of things, like that which now exists, creating an immense influx of specie, they find their ballast so much increased that the motion of the vessel has become sluggish, and they cannot force their way through the water unless they spread more sail, or induce their customers to borrow a larger amount of bank notes. To change the figure, our specie reservoirs are all full now, and they must soon find vent, and pour out their fertilizing streams over the country.

It may seem strange, that, as the spirit of speculation has usually been rife when but slight temptation was

offered, it should now show itself so dull, though there is a moral certainty that there must soon be a general rise of prices. The reason is, that the prospect of a general and gradual rise of prices does not tempt men into hazardous enterprises so strongly as the chance of a sudden and great enhancement of the price of one commodity or several. The report of a war with China may double or triple the price of tea in a month; or a rumor of the potato-rot and a failure of crops in England may create a fever almost instantaneously in the flour market here in America. But a gradual enhancement in the money value of all commodities will not tempt men to purchase largely on borrowed capital. There may be brief and violent fluctuations in the relative value of particular commodities, while the great movement is silently going on, which slowly enhances the value of all. It is conceivable, and even probable, that the first effect of this abundance of capital seeking investment, and the consequent diminution of the rate of interest, will be to lower the prices of many commodities, instead of raising them, because these circumstances aid and stimulate production. More cotton will be spun, because it will be more easy to obtain capital wherewith to build manufactories and keep them in operation.

It may be readily inferred, from what precedes, that, far from regarding a considerable decline in the value of money, when produced by natural causes, as a calamity, we consider it as a blessing. It will greatly alleviate the burden of taxation in many states that are now oppressed by a heavy national debt. Private debts, as well as public, will become easier to bear; they will be subject to a steady process of abatement, too slow, and compensated in too great a variety of ways, to occasion any serious loss to the creditor, and still affording a sensible relief to all who have payments to make. The greater proportion by far of fixed payments is made by those who are engaged in business or industrious undertakings, to those who are enjoying leisure and wealth. Thus, the relief and the encouragement come to the more active and industrious classes, while the loss, small in proportion, falls upon those who are most able to bear it. The increasing abundance of money, and the steady rise of

prices, stimulate all forms of industry and enterprise. As the operations of trade and manufacture are quickened, wages tend to rise even in a higher ratio than the prices of commodities. Thus the condition of laborers is ameliorated, and the inequality in the distribution of wealth, which is the great misfortune of the most prosperous nations, is slowly diminished. Hume, long ago, remarked that, "in every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, every thing takes a new face; labor and industry gain life, the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful, and even the farmer follows his plough with greater alacrity and attention. But when gold and silver are diminishing, the workman has not the same employment from the manufacturer and merchant, though he pays the same price for every thing in the market. The farmer cannot dispose of his corn and cattle, though he must pay the same rent to his landlord. The poverty, beggary, and sloth that must ensue, are easily foreseen." Even so cautious and conservative a writer as McCulloch fully admits the truth of this view, though he adds the obvious and just qualification, that the fall in the value of money, which is to be advantageous to a country, must proceed from natural causes, and not be an intentional reduction by the authority of the state. Apart from the obligation to act with good faith and equal justice to all classes, which is incumbent upon every government, it is obvious that any measure, having this end in view, would occasion a great shock to public and private credit, and cause a large amount of capital to be transported to other lands as to places of security.

Those who were apprehensive that a decline in the value of money, produced by the increased supply of the precious metals, would derange the operations of business, and destroy large amounts of wealth, may console themselves by remembering that England, France, and the United States have, at no remote period of their history, passed, without any very serious consequences, through crises similar in character, but more violent and sudden than that which is now in prospect. In May, 1837, all the banks in the United States suspended specie payments; and the immediate consequence was a depreciation of

their paper, or a rise of specie to a premium, differing in amount in the various States according to the various degrees of solvency of their respective banks, but of which the average for the whole country was at least 12 per cent. The inevitable result followed, that specie disappeared from the circulation, and all obligations were discharged in paper, — that is, by the payment of 88 cents on the dollar. If a person lent $1,000 in April of that year, to be repaid in June, he lent what was in fact 1,000 silver dollars, each worth 100 cents, and received back 1,000 paper dollars, each worth only 88 cents. The event, of course, was an act of national and universal bankruptcy, every creditor receiving, for an entire discharge of his debt, only about seven eighths of what was due to him. The United States government alone, in the exercise of its prerogatives as sovereign, refused to submit to this loss, and obliged all its debtors to pay specie; — an act of strict justice, it is true, but one which caused it a greater loss by bad debts than it would have suffered by consenting to share the loss equally with the community.

This alteration in the value of the currency was far more violent, and more sweeping in its effects, than that which we have now to expect. It was a depreciation of 12 per cent., and as it took place at once, it literally affected *all* debts which came due while it continued. But a gradual depreciation of two or three per cent. a year will have scarcely a perceptible influence on the great bulk of business transactions, which involve obligations to pay that have only a few months to run. It is more important to observe, that the suspension itself, or the acknowledgment of the depreciation of the currency, which, in truth, had already taken place, was felt as a relief. It had been preceded by a period of advancing prices, great activity in commerce and manufactures, and universal prosperity. These high prices could not be maintained, because the inflation of the currency had been unnatural, and was, therefore, temporary. The suspension came, not because the currency had expanded, but because it could not expand any further, — because there were not gold and silver enough to maintain it at the point which it had reached. The distress was caused, not by the decline

in the value of money, but by its advance, — by the contraction of prices, and the restoration of things to the old standard. It was felt, not when a debt of 100 dollars could be paid off by 88 dollars, but when a debt contracted by receiving virtually only 88 dollars had to be discharged by paying 100. As no such reaction or collapse can follow, when the rise of prices has been occasioned by a natural cause, that is, by the augmented supply of the precious metals, we shall have, in the case before us, the period of prosperity, and a long one too, without being obliged to pay bitterly for it afterwards.

It was just so during the suspension of specie payments by the Bank of England, that began in February, 1797, and continued till 1819. The depreciation, which was very gradual for a few years, rose suddenly, in 1810, to 13 per cent., and attained its maximum in 1814, when it was 25 per cent. Mr. Pitt, who at first regarded the suspension with great anxiety, came afterwards, it is said, to be as much delighted with it as if he had found a mountain of gold. And well he might be delighted. It was this depreciation of the currency which carried England triumphantly through the war, — which enhanced rents and profits, gave unprecedented activity to manufactures and commerce, kept the laboring population employed, and therefore quiet, enabled the government to raise enormous loans without difficulty, and made the people bear, with ease and cheerfulness, an amount of taxation which they can now hardly contemplate without shuddering. "It is undeniable," says a very well-informed writer, "that during the greater part of that period (from 1793 to 1814) the trade of the country was in a state of unexampled prosperity. In no twenty-two years of our history, of which we have authentic accounts, has there ever been so rapid an increase of production and consumption, as in the twenty-two years ending with 1814." It is not going too far to say, that, without the high prices of those years, Wellington could not have driven the French out of Spain, or triumphed at Waterloo. The dark hour came, when, after the close of the war, it was thought necessary to take measures to contract the currency, restore the former value of money, and submit to the consequent fall of prices. "In whatever degree

minor circumstances may have coöperated, the great and mighty source of the distresses felt by all classes of producers has been the transition that took place at the termination of the war, — the transition from an immense, unremitting, protracted, effectual demand for almost every article of consumption to a comparative cessation of that demand." "There was," adds Mr. Tooke, "from 1814 to 1816 (a period of rapid contraction of the currency) a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress."

By a very natural association of ideas, the years marked first by a great decline, and then by a rapid restoration, of the value of money, come to be remembered only as one period, or complete cycle, of great prosperity followed by still greater depression and distress; and men naturally shrink from so cruel an alternation. They forget that the prosperity alone is consequent on the depreciation of the currency, and if this depreciation could continue, or become permanent, no reaction, no distress, would succeed. It was such a permanent decline in the value of money which caused the marvellous development of the wealth and material prosperity of England, that took place during the reign of Elizabeth; and it is to a decline equally permanent, and perhaps equally great, that we have now to look forward. Surely, there is nothing in such a prospect to create agitation and alarm. We know not what political troubles may grow out of this grand monetary revolution, or that it will have any political effect whatever; but industry, commerce, and the arts have nothing to fear from it, but every thing to hope.

Coming down again to particulars, it is an obvious remark that the decline in the value of money must be indicated by a variation in the relative values of gold and silver, as the increase in the annual supply is almost exclusively of the former metal. This variation will enable the legislature, from time to time, to determine the

amount of the depreciation which has taken place, and by such enactments as the New Gold Bill, passed in 1834, and the bill which is now pending before Congress, to adjust the state of the currency to the new values of the precious metals. One reason why such a variation has not already become more manifest, may be found in the change which is now going on in the currency of France. The circulation in that country was almost exclusively metallic, as the only bank bills were of a very high denomination; and, till recently, it has consisted for the most part of silver, gold bearing an *agio* of about seven in a thousand, and therefore not coming into general use. But the influx of gold from Russia and California has now reversed this state of things. The French mint has coined a very large amount of gold during the last two years, which has entered rapidly into circulation, displacing an equivalent amount of silver coin, which has been melted up and sent abroad. It is estimated, by well-informed French and English writers, that the silver thus set free in France alone amounts to thirty millions of dollars. To this must be added a very considerable supply from this country, obtained in a similar way, — as we know from painful experience, our American silver coins, of full weight, having generally disappeared, their place, for purposes of change, being supplied by the worn and clipped Spanish pieces. If the specie reserves of our banks could be examined, which, only four years ago, contained a large proportion of silver, they would probably be found to be composed, in a great measure, of gold. If the United States have set free, in this manner, only fifteen millions in silver, which is a very safe estimate, we have an aggregate, from these two countries, of forty-five millions added to the general stock of silver, which is enough to prevent it as yet from rising materially in value in its relation to gold.

The variation in the relative values of gold and silver, then, will indicate, *in part*, the decline in the value of money; but, if a change be not made in the mint regulations of France and the United States, (and, at a later day, of Great Britain,) it will *not* indicate *the whole* of such decline. For, as gold continues to depreciate, *all* the silver will otherwise be driven out of the currency; and

the quantity of silver, thus set free, will depreciate its value also, though not in the same ratio as that of gold. But a change must be made in the mint regulations, since we cannot do without silver for purposes of change. The question then arises, — and it is a very important one, — how the alteration in the coinage shall be made? Shall it be by adding to the quantity of gold, or by diminishing the quantity of silver, which now passes for a dollar? If the former course be adopted, the value of money may be kept in great part unaltered, the depreciation in the value of gold being obviated by the increased quantity of it which passes under the old denomination. If the latter course be preferred, money will fall in value as rapidly as the worth of gold is depreciated. In either case, frequent changes of the mint regulations will be necessary. If, for instance, gold is now worth three per cent. less, when compared with silver, than it was four or five years ago, the quantity of gold contained in an eagle must be increased three per cent., or the quantity of silver contained in a dollar must be diminished three per cent. In either case, the relative value of the two precious metals still tending to change, the operation in a year or two must be repeated. The matter might be simplified, it is true, by giving up the double standard, and using in future but one metal for coinage. Thus, we might coin gold only, and at the present rate, putting 232.2 grains of pure gold into an eagle, or 23.22 grains into a dollar, and allow silver to be bought and sold only as bullion, or at whatever rate it might command in the market per ounce, Troy weight. Or, gold coins might be dispensed with, and only silver allowed to circulate as currency, and at its present rate, of 371.25 grains to a dollar. In this case, as so much more silver would be needed if all money was to be composed of it, its absolute value would probably be enhanced; it would be worth more, not only in relation to gold, but in relation to all other commodities.

The question which we are now considering is not one of mere convenience or expediency; we must also see what abstract justice requires in all dealings between debtors and creditors. Those who are in favor of increasing the quantity of gold, rather than of lessening

the quantity of silver, which now passes for a dollar, may argue very plausibly, that a debt ought to be cancelled only by the payment of money equal in value to that in which it was contracted. If I have borrowed one thousand silver dollars, or something which could readily be exchanged for one thousand *silver dollars*, I ought not to be allowed to cancel the debt by paying one thousand *gold dollars*, after gold has fallen to one half of the value which it had when I obtained the loan.

This argument is plausible, but it is insufficient. All mercantile contracts must be construed literally, or must have a specific performance. The law never undertakes to guard either party against the evil consequences to himself of a change of values which he has not foreseen. Such changes are very frequent in mercantile transactions, and the maxim, *caveat emptor*, applies to them all. If I pay one thousand dollars now, for two hundred barrels of flour to be delivered three months hence, and if the price of flour falls meanwhile to four dollars a barrel, I must not expect that one fifth of the purchase-money will be paid back to me; and if the price, on the other hand, rises to six dollars, the seller cannot require me to make up the difference. Each party must bear the consequences of his bargain, and of his own want of foresight. In like manner, if a landholder leases an estate for twenty years, at an annual rent of five hundred dollars, he cannot rightfully demand compensation, nor can the lessee ask an abatement, if, in the course of those twenty years, the value of the dollars should be altered by circumstances over which neither party had any control. According to the state of the law at the time when the lease was made, the annual payment was to be *either* five hundred times 23.22 grains of pure gold, *or* five hundred times 371.25 grains of pure silver. It was a part of the contract, that the lessee should have the option of paying his rent in either of these forms, the two metals in these proportions being both legal tender. It is the misfortune of the lessor, but certainly not the fault of the lessee, if, when the rent becomes due, the 23.22 grains of pure gold will no longer purchase so many commodities as before. The latter cannot, therefore, be obliged to pay silver; for he bargained to pay gold, if he saw fit. If, in-

deed, the government should arbitrarily "raise the standard," as it is termed, or decree that the dollar should in future contain only 200 grains of pure silver, instead of 371.25 grains, equity, if not law, would require the lessee to pay his rent in coins of the old standard, or their equivalent; for the spirit, if not the letter, of his covenant is, not to pay what *may be called a dollar* at any future time, but what was really accounted to be a dollar at the time when the bargain was made. It is but another application of the same rule of equity, to say, that he shall not be held to pay 40 grains of pure gold for a dollar, when he covenanted to pay only 23.22 grains.

Apart, then, from all considerations of expediency, it would be an obvious violation of justice, to seek, by any change in the regulations of the mint, to prevent the present and expected depreciation in the value of gold from affecting the value of money, whether silver or gold, in all countries where a double standard exists. Mr. Brooks, of New York, has made an elaborate speech and report in Congress against the new Coinage and Seigniorage Bill, which, so far as it relates to this subject, is wholly sophistical and unsound. The bill had been prepared in conformity with an able report from the Director of the Mint, and a strong recommendation from the Secretary of the Treasury; and after a very able speech in its favor from Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, it had passed the Senate by a unanimous vote. It provides, that the silver half-dollar, instead of 206¼ grains of standard silver, one tenth being alloy, which is its present weight, shall contain but 192 grains of such silver, — the quarter of a dollar, dime, and half-dime being reduced in the same proportion. In other words, the silver dollar is to contain, in future, only 345.6 grains of pure silver, instead of 371.25 grains, as at present, the reduction being about 7 per cent. As silver is undervalued in our own present coinage only about two per cent., this reduction of the quantity of it contained in a dollar overvalues it *for the present* about five per cent. To prevent the new silver coin from driving the gold coin out of the market, therefore, the bill further provides that the new coin shall be legal tender only to the amount of five dollars, and prohibits silver from being deposited at the mint for coinage, except by the Treasurer of the Mint, or under authority of the United States.

The object of the bill, therefore, is to introduce into this country the system of coinage which has been tried in England for over thirty years, and has been found to answer excellently well, especially during the last two or three years, when it has obviated the difficulty that would otherwise have arisen from the varying ratio of gold to silver. The English system is explained by McCulloch as follows.

"From 1666 down to 1817, no seigniorage was charged on the silver coin; but a new system was then adopted. Silver having been underrated in relation to gold in the mint proportion of the two metals fixed in 1718, heavy silver coins were withdrawn from circulation, and gold only being used in all the larger payments, it became, in effect, what silver had formerly been, the standard of the currency. The act of 56th George III., regulating the present silver coinage, was framed, not to interfere with this arrangement, but so as to render silver entirely subsidiary to gold. For this purpose, it is made legal tender only to the extent of 40*s.*; and 66*s.*, instead of 62*s.*, are coined out of a pound Troy, the 4*s.* being retained as a seigniorage, which, therefore, amounts to $6\frac{14}{31}$ per cent. The power to issue silver is vested exclusively in the hands of government; who have it, therefore, in their power to avoid throwing too much of it into circulation, and, consequently, to prevent its fusion, until the market price of silver shall have risen to above 5*s.* 6*d.* an ounce."

"Under these regulations," adds McCulloch, in another place, "silver has ceased to be a standard of value, and forms merely a subordinate or subsidiary species of currency, or change, occupying the same place in relation to gold that copper occupies in relation to itself. This system has been found to answer exceedingly well." Our copper coins, like those of England, are rated about 75 per cent. above their real value; but as the government alone determines how many of them shall be issued, and as they are legal tender to the extent only of the smallest silver coin, this over-valuation is not productive of any bad effect. As no more of them are issued than are needed, they do not tend to fall below their nominal valuation, they cannot be exported or melted up without great loss, and the coinage of them affords a considerable profit to the government. About $1,300,000 worth of them have been issued in this country, nearly three fourths of which sum is clear profit.

Should the new Coinage Bill pass, the profit on the manufacture of silver coin, though much smaller in rate, will be greater in amount. For a while, it will probably defray the greater part of the expense of our whole coinage. We shall have an abundance of perfect American coin, for the purposes of change, instead of the miserably worn and defaced Spanish pieces which are now current. The over-valuation of the new silver coin, which will be for the present only about 5 per cent., will prevent it from being exported or melted up, while it will not be large enough to afford any temptation to the counterfeiter. It will also prevent, for at least two or three years to come, the currency from being disturbed by the depreciation of gold which is now going on; and it will also supply an accurate measure of that depreciation, so far as the relative value of gold and silver is affected by it; for as soon as the new silver coin begins to disappear, it will be a proof that gold has fallen at least 5 per cent. below its present relative value. The depreciation of silver will not be excessive, as the relative value of silver to gold in the English coinage has been, for over thirty years, as 1 to 14.288; while in this country, it will be 1 to 14.884. The relation in our present coinage is as 1 to 15.988; in France, it is as 1 to 15.499. Their true relation, or present bullion value, as nearly as can be ascertained, is as 1 to about 15.675.

The reasons for the alteration to be effected by the new Coinage Bill are very well set forth in a communication to the present Congress from the Secretary of the Treasury.

"The relative value of our gold and silver coins is, as already stated, as 1 to 15.988; and the bullion value of our silver coin in England is 15.716 — being a difference of 272 thousandths, or nearly two per cent. It follows, then, as a matter of course, that on all occasions where the course of our foreign trade requires heavy shipments abroad, our silver coin will be first sought after for that purpose, even at a premium, and consequently will disappear from circulation, as it has already done to a very great extent.

"There seems to be but one immediate and direct remedy for this evil; and that is the one which has already been adopted in Great Britain, of changing the relative value between gold and silver coin, by reducing the intrinsic value of the latter. The

opinion of the officers of the mint (in which judicious persons, whose opinions are entitled to great weight, concur) is, that this change could be advantageously made, by making our dollar weigh three hundred and eighty-four grains, and the smaller coins in proportion; so that eight hundred ounces of such coin should be worth by tale exactly $1,000. The director of the mint, in a communication on the subject, says: 'If such a scale of weights were adopted, the relation of silver in such pieces to gold would be as 14.884 to 1; and if the present true relation or bullion value is about 15.675 to 1, the new proposed silver coin would be over-valued by law about five per cent.; a very small advance, and far less than in British silver, or in the worn Spanish coin, which now monopolizes our circulation.'

"In the adjustment of this subject, it will be necessary to consider the depreciation in the value of gold which may have taken place already, or shall hereafter occur, in consequence of the immense additional supplies which have been, and will, no doubt, continue to be, thrown into circulation from California, Australia, and other countries. This consideration might justify a much greater present over-valuation of silver coin, as the future depreciation of gold will probably soon overcome the limit of the present proposed advance.

"If this plan is adopted by Congress, it of course will involve the necessity of making silver coin a legal tender only for debts of small amount — say not exceeding ten dollars, which is about the same limit (forty shillings) which has been established in Great Britain."

We fear the bill will hardly pass at the present session of Congress, for so many speeches to Buncombe have been made in the lower House, and the Presidential election has been so much canvassed, that no time remains except for the transaction of ordinary and indispensable business. It passed the Senate, as we have said, by a unanimous vote; and no opposition has been made to it, we believe, among the Representatives, except by Mr. Brooks. The arguments which he urged against it were such that it is difficult to consider them with gravity. They are directed chiefly against one provision in the Bill which we have not yet noticed; — a clause inserted at the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, requiring a seigniorage to be paid in future on the coinage of gold, not to exceed the actual expense of the coinage, and not to amount, in any case, to more than one per cent. It was estimated that half of one per cent. would suffice for this purpose for the present. Since the

discovery of the California gold washings, the expenses of the principal mint and its branches have been, of course, much increased; and still greater cost will be incurred, if, as is now proposed, two other branch mints are established, one at New York, and the other at San Francisco. The annual expense of coinage is now about three quarters of a million of dollars; the two new branches will raise it to more than a million. A large fund is also kept at the Philadelphia mint, in order to pay depositors at once for the bullion which they may leave there to be coined, instead of obliging them to wait till their own gold is minted. If this fund were applied to extinguish an equivalent amount of the national debt, it would save nearly $400,000 now annually paid in interest. Adding this annual charge to the whole cost of coinage, we have an aggregate of nearly a million and a half, as a gratuity annually made by the nation to the depositors of gold. Of course, so large a bounty attracts to this country a much larger portion of the annual product of the washings than would otherwise come hither. But it does not stay here after it is coined, and it is not desirable that it should stay. The precious metals, in the shape of coin, distribute themselves among the nations of the earth, in exact proportion to the wants of each, just as naturally and inevitably as water finds its level in a pond. If any country has more than its due proportion of them, the prices of commodities are necessarily inflated, the quantity of goods imported is consequently increased, and the gold and silver are then sent abroad to pay for these imports. It would be as unreasonable to expect, that the 125 millions of California gold, which have been coined in our mints during the last two years and a half, should remain in the United States, as it would be in the Californians to wish that the whole product of their washings should be kept within the limits of their own State, for their exclusive use and benefit. Wherever they are unduly accumulated, they undergo a proportionate depreciation, or in other words, cause the prices of other commodities to rise; and they are sent abroad to escape such depreciation. Every steamer that sails for Europe carries off a portion of them; and it is certain that one half, probably two thirds, of what has been gratuitously coined in our mints, has already left us, and gone where it has already

received, or will soon receive, another stamp. A good portion of it is safely lodged in the vaults of the Bank of England. The expense of shaping it into United States coin has been literally thrown away.

The Director of the Mint and the Secretary of the Treasury, therefore, very properly recommended, that a seigniorage, sufficient only to defray the actual cost of coinage, should be imposed, so that no more should be coined than the country really needed. Mr. Brooks vehemently opposes this measure, on the ground that it would cause a larger portion of the gold to be shipped directly from California to Europe. Very well; what if it does? What possible advantage can there be, in bringing hither more gold than we want, transporting it first from San Francisco to New York, thence to Philadelphia, coining it there gratuitously at a heavy expense, carrying it back to New York, and then shipping it off immediately to London or Paris, where it will be melted up as soon as possible, and converted into English or French coins? Why should it not be shipped immediately to the place where it is needed, thus saving the entire expense of coinage, the cost of much unnecessary transportation, and the interest on the whole amount for at least two months' needless delay? Mr. Brooks surely does not suppose, that England will obtain the gold, either as bullion directly from San Francisco, or as coin by way of New York, without rendering a full equivalent for it in other commodities; or that the United States suffer any loss by allowing the miner to exchange his gold for other goods. Gold is only an article of merchandise, like copper, tin, and iron; and, like them, it must be sent to the market where it is most wanted, and where, consequently, it can be sold to the greatest advantage. Would it be good policy, in order to increase the stock of copper in this country, to enact that the pig metal should be manufactured into sheets, plates, and rods at the expense of government, without charge to the owner, who should also receive a free gift of the interest on the whole value of the copper during the time required for its manufacture? Such a law would doubtless bring all the Chilian copper hither, to be put into a form fit for use, and England and France would then obtain their share of it without any charge for the transformation it had undergone.

Mr. Brooks unwisely betrays, in his speech, the true grounds of opposition to the charge of a seigniorage. He says, "I have, in my hands, *remonstrances from the largest express companies*," who do a large and profitable business in transporting gold from San Francisco to New York; and he adds, that he opposes the law, "because the mischievous act would reach our commerce, *our freighting trade at the Isthmus of Panama*, *our insurance offices*, *our bullion dealers at home*, and send the gold and silver in one continuous, overwhelming stream to the British mint." To support this allegation, which is perfectly well founded, he introduces an estimate, furnished by the "express companies" themselves, of the comparative expense of transporting $100,000 in bullion from San Francisco to New York, and from the same place to London, showing a difference of about $600 in favor of the latter route; though, of course, the distance and the risk in this case are greater than in the other. The freight to New York is $2\frac{3}{4}$, while to London it is only $2\frac{5}{8}$, per cent.; the insurance to the former place is 2, while to the latter place it is only $1\frac{1}{4}$, per cent. Really, the carriers of bullion to New York are very modest; they ask the government of the United States to incur an annual charge of nearly a million and a half of dollars, in order that they may receive $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for a service less expensive and hazardous than that for which their brethren in London charge only $3\frac{7}{8}$ per cent. We would suggest a compromise. Let Congress pay "the largest express companies" an annual gratuity of $\frac{7}{8}$ths of a per cent., (the difference of the two rates,) on the whole amount of gold now brought to New York which would otherwise be sent to London, and thus earn a right to charge a seigniorage. The amount cannot be more than fifty millions a year, so that the gratuity would not exceed $437,500; the nation would thus save nearly a million of dollars a year.

Fearing that his pecuniary calculations might fail to convince, the speaker enforces them with some very fervid appeals to the patriotism of his hearers, — to their pride of country, and love of free institutions. He informs them, that the word "seigniorage" is "almost unknown in our country," — that "it is not even of English birth, but comes to us from the French, and is a relic of the

reign of feudality," — that it was "imposed by the old feudal barons as sovereigns in Europe, called *seigneurs*," — that "this relic of feudality exploded, however, long ago," and is now "best known among barbarians;" and, to sum up all, that "seigniorage is fit only for the dominions of the Grand Seignior." We wonder he did not also remind them, that it is akin to the "royalty" which monarchs were wont to levy on the produce of mines, so that it may fairly be deemed to be of kingly origin, and even to have a suspicious savor of Popery. Mr. Brooks is patriotically indignant, that "the golden product of our California miners" should go forth to the world "under the impress of British sovereignty," the glorious stamp of the American eagle being effaced, and the paw of the British lion put in its place. He "hopes to see the day when the rich argosy of silver, now freighted to England under the British flag, will be freighted to New York, under the stars and stripes, increased in quantity ten times over." The force of these patriotic hopes is a little impaired, it is true, by the unlucky allusion to the profits of "the largest express companies." But no matter; the reasoning is none the less patriotic, and *thoroughly American*. The orator ends his speech with this brilliant peroration.

"Above all, for the sake of national honor or of national pride, I beg you to guard your own eagle, your own emblem of sovereignty, from the British lion, and to feel, at least, as the Englishman feels, when he puts the British emblem upon your gold production, at no cost to the depositor, that he is paid, richly paid, for the slight tax on himself, by the universal circulation and dominion he thus gives that British emblem the wide world over, wherever British gold goes, or Briton travels; for the day is coming when the American eagle — I mean no eagle emblazoned on any warlike standard — will thus traverse the world with this British sovereign, and, if I mistake not, in triumph over him, if you throw no obstructions in the path of his victory."

The speaker must have great faith in the credulity of the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, if he supposes that their action can be guided by this patriotic nonsense.

The confident assumption that the propriety of levying a seigniorage is now an exploded fallacy, even among

the governments of the Old World, may be very easily rebutted. In France, at the close of the last century, the charge on gold was fixed at $1\frac{4}{15}$ per cent., and on silver, at $1\frac{7}{24}$ per cent.; at present, it is only $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on gold, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on silver, being hardly enough to defray the actual expense of coinage. In England, the seigniorage on gold, it is true, is only nominal, being $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ on the ounce, the Bank being required to pay £3 17*s.* 9*d.* for bullion which is coined into £3 17*s.* $10\frac{1}{2}d.$; but on silver, as we have seen, the charge amounts to $6\frac{14}{31}$ per cent., a pound Troy being coined into 66*s.*, of which only 62*s.* are returned to the depositor, the other 4*s.* being retained by the government. Mr. Brooks, indeed, denies that this deduction constitutes a seigniorage; to which the sufficient answer is, that it is always so called by British writers; that the government returns to the depositor only a portion of coin which it manufactures out of his bullion, keeping the remainder to pay for the expense and trouble of the process, and that this is the only description which can be given of a seigniorage; and that the only additional circumstance in this case, — namely, the fact that the government will not coin all the silver that is offered, even at this price, — is of no importance, inasmuch as the seigniorage is levied on the whole amount which the mint sees fit to accept.

This "exploded fallacy" of levying a seigniorage is also defended strenuously by the writers of highest reputation in the science of political economy, — by Adam Smith, McCulloch, and John Stuart Mill, the last-named being a well-known radical reformer, who is not likely to be accused of favoring any "relic of feudality." We can afford room only for a portion of McCulloch's argument in defence of the practice.

"The reasoning of Dr. Smith, in favor of a moderate seigniorage, is quite unanswerable. No good reason has yet been given why those who want coins should not have to pay the expenses of manufacturing them. Coinage, by saving the trouble and expense attending the weighing and assaying of bullion, indisputably adds to the value of the precious metals. It renders them fitter to perform the functions of a circulating medium. A sovereign is of greater value than a piece of pure unfashioned gold bullion of the same weight; and for this plain reason, that while it is equally

well adapted with the bullion for being used in the arts, it is better adapted for being used as money or in the exchange of commodities. Why, then, should government be prevented from charging a seigniorage, or duty on coins, equal to the expenses of the coinage, or, which is the same thing, to the value which it adds to the bullion? Those who contend that the state ought to defray the expense of the coinage, might, with equal cogency of reasoning, contend that it ought to defray the expense of manufacturing gold and silver teapots, vases, &c. In both cases, the value of the raw material, or bullion, is increased by the cost of workmanship. And it is only fair and reasonable, that those who carry bullion to the mints, as well as those who carry it to the jewellers, should have to pay the expenses necessarily attending its conversion into coin."

The fact that government has a monopoly of the coinage, is a point of no importance. It also has a monopoly of the post-office; but it does not follow that it should carry letters for nothing. The proper charge, in both cases, is the actual expense incurred by rendering the service to the holders of bullion or to the writers of letters.

The objections of Mr. Brooks to the other and more important provisions of the New Coinage and Seigniorage Bill are hardly worth considering, except to show how very crude and imperfect notions exist in the community upon the subject of the currency, and how little the general theory of money, the various portions of which are now as easily demonstrated as any propositions in Euclid, is understood. He seems to have a vague idea that the effect of the proposed measure will be to depreciate the currency, or, in the old phrase, to "raise the standard;" and he very properly argues against any such proceeding, as virtually dishonest. He apparently forgets that, in this case, the depreciation [of the gold coins] has already taken place, not by any act of the government, but by natural causes, — namely, the increased supply of bullion from Russia, California, and Australia; and the only question is, how we are to adapt our mixed currency, the balance of which has thus been destroyed, to this new state of things. Because the new bill makes no provision for the manufacture in future of any larger silver coin than the *half*-dollar, and because the two new halves, containing together but 345.6 grains of pure silver, can-

not circulate in company with the old dollar, which contains 371.25 grains, he complains that it will have the practical effect of "abolishing for currency the dollar, the money unit, the very basis upon which the whole currency of the United States now stands and has stood." He forgets that very few silver dollars have ever been coined, and that, practically, they never appear in the circulation. For over thirty years, or from 1805 to 1836, the mint did not issue one of them. But the functions of the silver dollar, as the money unit, do not depend upon its actual presence in the currency, or upon the quantity of pure silver which it contains. They would be discharged equally well, if it were an ideal unit, or if it contained either 200 or 400 grains. He quotes the opinions of several writers, who "have contended that silver is the money of account all over the world, and the fittest to be the standard of value;" but he does not mention that the latest of these opinions is over twenty years old, and was predicated upon a very different state of things from that which now exists, and which, if these writers could have foreseen it, would most probably have reversed their judgment. When there was no reason to believe that the two precious metals were not equally stable in value, the greater abundance of silver caused nearly all writers, who preferred a single standard, to favor its adoption, as the exclusive measure of value. They adopted it solely for reasons of convenience, the higher value of gold forbidding its use for the purposes of small change. Now, the vastly increased supply of gold having brought up all the questions connected with a decline in the value of money, the subject appears in a totally different light, and former opinions respecting it are to be reconsidered.

Mr Brooks argues, that the "degraded or debased" silver coin, which would be issued under the new bill, would drive the present half-dollars and quarters out of circulation. Of course, it would, if any of them yet remain to be driven out. But the point is, that the present and increasing depreciation of gold from natural causes, and the consequent over-appreciation of silver, have already driven out the greater part of our perfect silver coins, and substituted for them the worn and defaced Spanish pieces, which have lost at least 10 per cent. of their nominal

value. Since the establishment of our government, the mint has sent forth over 77 millions of dollars in American silver coin, of which it is probable that not 10 millions now remain in the country. As Mr. Brooks admits that our silver coin has already risen to a premium of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., (more probably to 2 per cent.,) the residue must disappear within a few months, if the new bill does not previously become a law; for a profit of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is quite enough to tempt the bullion dealers to gather it up very eagerly, and send it abroad. On every million of dollars now sent to Europe, — and we send millions every month, — they might gain $12,500, if they could collect the million in United States silver coin. The question is not, then, whether we shall fall from a silver coinage containing 371.25 grains of pure silver to the dollar, to one which is nearly 7 per cent. inferior to it in value, but whether we shall rise from a worn Spanish currency, which has lost from 10 to 15 per cent. of its value, to one that is degraded only about 5 per cent. We repeat it, the new bill does not, though Mr. Brooks constantly implies that it does, degrade, debase, or depreciate any kind of money. It only recognizes a depreciation that has already taken place, from natural causes, over which human legislation has no control; and it adopts measures to prevent this depreciation from proceeding with irregular or undue rapidity, or from throwing our currency into unnecessary confusion. For proof that the new system is no hazardous experiment, we have the fact that Great Britain adopted it over thirty years ago, during which time, according to McCulloch, it "has been found to answer extremely well," has occasioned no complaint from the people, and has been a complete preservative against the very evil of a debased silver currency under which we are now suffering.

The real purpose in opposing the new bill is to show, "that, if we make any change, it ought to be in the gold coinage, by increasing the weight of the eagle," and allowing the silver dollar, with its present weight of pure metal, to remain undisturbed as the unit of value. This is the very course which we have demonstrated to be highly inexpedient and altogether unjust. It is an attempt, by making silver, instead of gold, the future mea-

sure of value, to prevent the great decline in the value of money, which every one sees to be impending, and to which both Great Britain and France are quietly submitting, not only without resistance, but with apparent gratification. Mr. Brooks has nothing to urge in favor of the attempt except the following extraordinary statement.

"To make gold the sole measure of value would be to revolutionize investments or obligations of debt, by enabling the debtor to pay in gold perhaps worth only as one to ten, when *he contracted to pay in gold worth as one to sixteen.*"

The misstatement here is very obvious. *The debtor has not contracted to pay gold which shall be worth sixteen times as much as silver;* no such obligation is expressed, none is implied, in his contract. He has simply bound himself to pay as many times 23.22 grains of pure gold as he owes dollars, be the worth of that gold more or less. The law under which he made his contract, and which still exists, declares that the coin containing 23.22 grains of pure gold shall be legal tender for a dollar. Accordingly, to increase the quantity of gold in a dollar, — to declare, for instance, that it should in future contain 30 grains, — unless the declaration were accompanied with a proviso that all debts previously contracted might be discharged by payment of the old coin or its equivalent, would be to violate that clause in the Constitution which forbids the passage of any law impairing the obligation of contracts. A debtor no more insures the future value of the dollars which he promises to pay, than the grain-dealer insures the future price of a cargo of flour, which he sells before it has yet come into port. The contingency of a rise or fall in the value of the article is what the buyer knowingly takes upon himself.

As to the general expediency of the attempt which Mr. Brooks here advocates, we need not repeat the considerations already offered. But there are some particular reasons, why a decline in the value of money, such as is now in prospect, should not be regarded with apprehension in this country, but rather as a great addition to the future sources of our national well-being. As has been mentioned, those countries which have a large national debt are most likely to be benefited by the change.

The burden of taxation will be essentially diminished, while the loss sustained by the fundholders will fall on shoulders that are most capable of bearing it, and will also be distributed among many, and over a long period of years, the frequent changes in the ownership of the stocks, moreover, tending to render their real depreciation almost imperceptible. For this reason, the coming revolution in the monetary world seems to be contemplated without terror in Great Britain; at any rate, no one hints at the expediency of giving up the present exclusive gold standard, which exposes the currency to the full shock of the alteration. Mr. Brooks would find few advocates there of his plan, of making silver the standard, and gradually increasing the quantity of pure metal in the gold coins. Our national debt, it is true, is but small, and what little there is, will quickly be extinguished. But the debts of the individual States are large, amounting in the aggregate to over two hundred millions of dollars, a large portion of which is owned in Europe. There are also stocks to a very large amount, issued by cities, railroads, and other corporations, in which English capitalists have made large investments; while there are no foreign stocks owned in this country. The rate of interest being higher here than in the Old World, European capital has been attracted here in so large quantities, that our annual remittances for interest already constitute no small portion of our exports. We do not call these remittances "a drain upon the resources of the country," as they are often denominated by the unthinking; for the transactions on which they are founded have swelled those resources far beyond the limit which would otherwise have bounded them. Still, it is satisfactory to remember, that, as the coming monetary revolution will operate exclusively to the benefit of the indebted party, our own land will derive more benefit from it, in proportion to our means, than any other country on earth. For this reason, if for no other, Congress ought not to be the first legislative body in the world to make an attempt to resist or evade the great change which Providence is gradually bringing about, through the agency of natural causes.

Since the earlier portion of this article was written,

Congress has adjourned, as we feared, before the House of Representatives had had time to consider and pass the new bill regulating the coinage. It therefore necessarily lies over to the next session. Meanwhile, our silver currency is deteriorating every day, and will soon be reduced to a condition that will call loudly for remedy. No more effectual measure for this end can be contrived, we believe, than that which was prepared, after careful deliberation, and with a full knowledge of the subject, by the advice of the Director of the Mint and the Secretary of the Treasury, and which has already received the unanimous approbation of the Senate.

Art. VI. — *Austria in* 1848–49: *being a History of the late Political Movements in Vienna, Milan, Venice, and Prague: with Details of the Campaigns of Lombardy and Novara: a Full Account of the Revolution in Hungary: and Historical Sketches of the Austrian Government and the Provinces of the Empire.* By W. H. Stiles, late Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Vienna. New York: Harpers. 1852. 2 vols. 8vo.

We are, perhaps, too near the time of the revolutionary movements of 1848, in Europe, to form a strictly accurate historical judgment of the men and measures of that period. Party passions are still too vehemently agitated, and the truth is seen, if seen at all, through too colored a medium, for the cool examination and impartial conclusion, which are alone of value, as lessons for the instruction of the future. But there are some general outlines, sufficiently discernible, if we will but look with a simple desire to learn. It is, for example, sufficiently evident that there is but a slight analogy between those movements, and the war of the American Revolution, either in the characters of the agents, the motives of the actions, or the aims contemplated; still less, in the condition of the uprising parties, and their preparation for the political condition to which they professed to aspire. Our ancestors were accustomed, from the first settlement of

the Colonies, to self-government, and to the enactment and execution of laws; they knew how to transact public business, with order and despatch; they understood the duty of obedience to the public will, when lawfully expressed; and each individual felt himself responsible for the course of public affairs. General education was established, in our system of public schools; and political training was incessant, in the administration of local affairs, and in the various legislative assemblies and councils to which the public affairs were intrusted. Every right, of person and property, was secure, and all citizens were on an equality; so that no social revolutions were necessary, and no violent changes, of the standing of large classes. When the time came to throw off the authority of the mother country, we had no political or social institutions to overturn; no internal convulsions to endure; no dangerous shocks to breast; and yet, the assertion of our constitutional liberties cost us a bloody war of seven years' duration.

"Tantæ molis erat, Romanam condere gentem."

Neither of these conditions existed, in the people of any nation on the European continent, at the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1848. The monarchy of Louis Philippe was surrounded by some of the institutions of a popular government; but the constituent body was an insignificant fraction of the nation, and the legislature notoriously under the influence of the court. Yet the French enjoyed, under the rule of that able prince, a degree of liberty, security, and constitutional order, greater than in any preceding reign, and infinitely greater than they have had since, even in the days of the Provisional Government, and the nondescript "Republic," whose ludicrous existence the ape of the great Napoleon so easily brought to an ignominious end. Red Republicanism, modelled on the Reign of Terror, Socialism, modelled on the wildest and most profligate vagaries of heathen speculation, — conspiracy without intelligible means, or practical aim, unbelief in God, and contempt for man, had long been seething in the witches' caldron of Continental underground speculations, when the strange success of a few writers in a wild attempt to overthrow the throne of

the king of the French, led to a series of explosions over Southern and Middle Europe.

Among the thinking men of Europe, there are, doubtless, many who cherish enlightened views of constitutional liberty, and keep a steadfast faith in the political destinies of the Continent; but there are more heated brains, enemies of the present order of things, with no distinct conception of a better. There are many ferocious philanthropists, who, in the mad attempt to carry their fanatical views into effect, would not hesitate to deluge the world in blood. There are multitudes of desperate, debauched, unprincipled men, who are ready for any destructive enterprise, resolved that they will not earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, so long as they can support their miserable and flagitious existence by political agitation. And there are some honest, but weak people, who believe that all the evils of the present state, and all the hardships of our common lot, may be done away by the adoption of a few fantastic social theories, which human experience and God's laws have a thousand times shown to be fallacious. But the body of the people everywhere would remain, if left to themselves, well content with their condition, humble as it is; or, if not contented, trusting to the ameliorating hand of time, and the slow but sure progress of the laws which regulate the natural growth of human societies.

The governments of Europe, founded for the most part on the feudal institutions of the Middle Ages, are, in great measure, responsible for the evil tendencies among the people. It is easy to see how, in theory, these threatening and growing mischiefs might have been averted, or may still be rendered harmless; but perhaps it is not possible to understand the full effect of the obstacles to improvement which, at any particular moment, have stood in the way of any extensively beneficent changes. The present state of affairs is more correctly to be regarded as the result of the course of things, through many centuries, of blended good and ill, during which the human race have been learning wisdom by suffering — *πάθει μάθος* — slowly moving under the guidance of Providence, towards a happier consummation in the future. But it is very clear that just ideas of liberty are lamentably wanting among

the agitated and agitating popular bodies of Europe. To a great extent, they understand liberty to be license, and the freedom to indulge the basest appetites, at the expense of the rights and honor of others; and they look forward to exemption from that labor, which is the common doom and universal blessing, as the perfection of happiness on earth. With no faith in virtue, and no trust in the overruling providence of God, they would fain overthrow, in a moment, the institutions that are the growth of centuries; and, believing that whatever is, is wrong, rush headlong to the corresponding conclusion, that whatever is not, is right.

The misfortune of all popular movements on the continent of Europe is, that these madmen and atheistic philanthropists, who seem to think they could have made a much better world, had the work of creation been placed in their hands, always take the foremost rank, and spoil everything by their interference. They begin by alarming governments, and end by alarming every honest man in private life; so that, after a convulsive effort to secure some popular right, or add something to the privileges of the people, their excesses and absurdities lead to a reaction and to the reëstablishment of despotism, which the solid and substantial classes of citizens infinitely prefer to the senseless and lawless dogmas of the reformers of the world.

Between the adjustment of European affairs in 1815, and the outbreaks of 1848, the world, with few exceptions, lay in profound peace. Never, within the same period, was equal progress made in physical well-being, in the industry and intercourse that enrich every state with the products of every other, in the arts that constitute the elements of enjoyment, as well as in those that embellish and idealize human existence, in science, literature, inventions, high education, and the education of the people, — in the universal diffusion of toleration and charity in religion, of liberal ideas in politics, of wise appreciation of the past, and bright hopes of the future. Have the movements of 1848 accelerated the progress of men in any one of these directions? Is France more free than she was previous to 1848? Has she a better prospect of constitutional freedom in the future, under Louis Na-

poleon, than she had under the Orleans dynasty? How stands it with the cause of liberty in Germany? Is Prussia better off? Have the Liberals of Austria and Hungary gained any important advantages, by the blood and treasure they have caused to be wasted? Is the freedom of a United Italy nearer its accomplishment, by the trial of the Republic of Rome, and the Dictatorship of Venice? He would be a bold man who durst answer either question in the affirmative. The catastrophe of all these movements teaches, by a severe lesson, that the cause of human freedom is not advanced by atheism, lawlessness, and debauchery. Doubtless, there have been, in the political troubles of the last four years, many individuals engaged in what they deemed the sacred cause of freedom, from motives that do them infinite honor; doubtless, men have fallen martyrs to their convictions of duty, and to their devotion to the rights of man; and the memory of such shall be held sacred to the end of time. But it is equally certain that the general character of the originators and actors in those scenes has been wholly different, and the movements have been stained by every crime most abhorrent to the laws of God and man. Robbery, murder, rape, conflagration have followed the footsteps of the reformers of the world; license the most frightful, obscenity the most disgusting, orgies the most bloody and atrocious, have been the ceremonies by which they have inaugurated the dawn of their imaginary millennium. The fantastic fooleries of Louis Blanc prepared the way for a despotism more inexorable than that of Napoleon; the murder of Count Latour, and the abominations of the mob of students and workmen in Vienna, were the prelude to the strengthened absolutism of the house of Hapsburg, in the person of the young Emperor, who has so prematurely been forced to ascend the throne. The brutal assassination of Count Lamberg on the bridge of Buda hastened the extinction of the Hungarian Constitution, in the blood of the noblest heroes of that devoted land. The assassination of Marinovich, in the Arsenal at Venice, brought swift destruction on that city of the Doges, and laid her prostrate and helpless at the feet of an Austrian Field Marshal.

And, at this moment, the prospect for liberal institutions

among the nations of Continental Europe is darker than it has been for the last half century; the emancipation of the nations has been thrown back by the very means adopted in the fond and fallacious hope of hastening the day of its fulfilment. It is idle to say, that this reaction is all to be attributed to the perjuries and treacheries of the crowned heads. No doubt, these have done their part; but if they had not found allies in the want of virtue and capacity in the leaders of the popular movements, in the crimes by which these movements were tracked at every step, in the hideous doctrines which they sought to consummate in practice, and in the abhorrence thus excited in the minds of the substantial classes, there would have been an end to despotism on the Continent of Europe. The most remarkable feature in these remarkable events was the absence of ability on the part of the leaders, and of sense and principle on the part of the followers. The insurgents had everything in their own hands; governments were paralyzed everywhere; every demand was conceded; and, had the men whom the revolution threw upon the surface, and placed at the head of affairs, understood their position, and had the ability to turn its advantages to account, and the intelligent patriotism to consult for the common good, and the virtue to abandon selfish schemes and projects of sensual gratification, they would have been supported by men of moderate views, whose interests depend on the preservation of order, and might have given a permanent foothold to constitutional liberty. But privy conspiracy, rebellion, and murder are not the methods God sanctions or employs to work out his gracious purposes in the history of man. The revolutionary party in Europe have too plainly shown the cloven foot. The scenes at Venice, Vienna, and Pesth are a solemn warning to the world, to put no trust in their promises, which are of less value than princes' favors. The language held by members of that party, in Europe and in America, only serves to strengthen the distrust of their motives, and horror at their projects, wherever order is valued, peace is desired, and religion reverenced. The fierce call for the blood of their opponents, the declared resolve to bring the present rulers of Europe to the guillotine, to wade through oceans of blood to the accomplish-

ment of their philanthropic schemes, the undisguised avowal of principles that strike at the root of the family relation, threaten the destruction of property, the overthrow of Christianity, and the utter annihilation of society as at present constituted, have excited, and continue to excite, a deeper terror than the existing evils under which the nations labor and are heavily laden, however formidable and desperate these may appear to the eye of the Christian philanthropist.

For the disorganizers have managed to stamp their own character most deeply on the political movements of Europe, and to involve the honest and patriotic reformers in the same reprobation, with which their own atrocious schemes are justly visited. This is the unhappy consummation to which they have every where brought the excited hopes of humanity. The existence of a deep-laid conspiracy, with a central organization, and affiliated branches extending through the principal nations of Europe, — with able and unscrupulous heads, who have nothing to lose, even if chaos come back again, with large funds at their disposal, and the means of secret correspondence, — has been boastfully proclaimed, for the purpose of keeping up the courage of the revolutionary party everywhere. But this fact, so far from gladdening the hopes of the true lovers of freedom, only alarms them for the future; so far from strengthening the hands of enlightened and liberal men, it only gives the minions of despotism a stronger hold upon power, and plausible arguments for refusing the smallest concession to popular or historical rights. The prospect this revolutionary party holds out to mankind is that of a universal war in Europe; a war of the people against the governments; a war of those who have nothing, against those who have something; a war of overthrow and annihilation against the present order of society, against the civilization of the age, in the vague and uncertain hope of building society up, on a different basis, and another plan, at some undefined period in the future. This is the practical meaning of their scheme, however disguised it may be under plausible phrases of philanthropy, and sophistical arguments addressed to the imaginations of the unwary.

Now, the great want of man, in the present age, and in all ages, is peace; the great bane of man, in the present age, and in all ages is, war. As we have said before, the progress of civilization, prosperity, and happiness during thirty years of peace, has been unprecedented in history. The brief and bloody wars that grew out of the insurrections of 1848 have suddenly arrested this progress, in many of its most important directions. England, protected from the worst effects of the convulsion by her temperate constitutional liberties, did not wholly escape its political consequences, as we see in the partial restoration of Toryism to power. France, where it began, lies torpid under an ignominious despotism, which, bad as it is, holds its power by a tenure more legitimate than any other existing government. It is idle to say, that either corruption or the sword brought seven millions of Frenchmen up to the polls to vote for Louis Napoleon. Prussia, after having been juggled by the delusive phantom of constitutional monarchy, has fallen back into the arms of an absolutism existing by the grace of God. The progress of science and universal education, before so honorable to that nation, and so full of hopes of golden promise for liberal and enlightened government, has suffered at least a temporary check. The Roman Republic has fallen under the arms of France, and the obsolete maxims of Papal administration are restored to much of their ancient vigor. The Italian provinces of Austria, following the revolutionary principles of Mazzini and Manin, have quenched their newborn hopes in blood, and seen their nascent republics buried beneath the ruins of the glorious monuments of past ages, and, in this forlorn condition of ruin and disaster, reconsigned to the leaden tyranny of the "foreigner" and the "barbarian." Hungary, — last and saddest of all, — Hungary, the land of generous hearts and gallant arms, the land of enthusiasm and devotion, after a brief but most bloody war, is bowed in the dust before her conquerors, her noblest sons having been saved from an honorable death on the field, only to perish by the hand of the executioner. Her constitution, which had stood a thousand years, swept away; its surviving champions, eating the bitter bread of poverty and exile, as they travel from country to country, repeating, in tones of pathetic eloquence,

the story of her unequalled woes; her territories treated like a conquered province, — which, indeed, they now are, — and reduced to the dead level of an Austrian bureaucratic administration, with no reasonable hope of better times to come.

Hungary was fast rising in prosperity, intelligence, and honor. Patriotic and enlightened men were devoting their energies and their wealth to developing her great resources, and multiplying the means of material well-being. The old feudal constitution was undergoing changes to adapt it to the wants of the present age. Nothing could exceed the brightness of her prospects, had wisdom and moderation guided her councils, when the whirlwind of 1848 struck upon her. But her leaders were enthusiasts, and the frenzy of the hour seized their hearts. In attempting to grasp more than the country was prepared for, more than the country knew how to maintain after the concession already extorted from a feeble and reluctant Emperor, in attempting to secure an impracticable independence, which a large majority of the people neither understood nor wanted, they lost all the substantial gains they had effected for twenty years; they saw the plains of their country deluged in blood, her resources exhausted, her improvements destroyed, her homes ruined or filled with mourning, her progress arrested, her condition thrown back toward the ages of barbarism, and the hopes of constitutional liberty indefinitely postponed. Here, more than anywhere else, have the hands of despotism been strengthened by conspiracy, rebellion, and war. The most tragic act of the awful tragedy commenced in 1848, is the Hungarian catastrophe. But the lesson it impressively teaches is, again, that the work of humanity, in our age, is not to be carried forward by war; and they who think to redeem the disasters of one war by the blood of another, are walking under a fatal delusion, from which they must be awakened by persuasion or steady resistance to their frantic schemes. It will take many years of unbroken peace to regain what the last few years have lost in Europe to the cause of universal liberty. Peace is the gentle minister through whose agencies the sufferings of men are to be mitigated, their wrongs redressed, and their happiness secured. They who dream to prostrate

these blessed ends by the violent works of insurrection and war, are listening to the voice of human passion, and not to the teachings of Almighty Wisdom. The general war in Europe, for which they watch and long, may come; but if it does, it comes as the scourge of God; it comes to overwhelm for a time the civilization of the world; it comes to consume, as in a devouring flame, the accumulated wealth and art of Europe; — to beat down the defences against barbarism, which have been slowly and painfully built up; to let loose every baleful passion of the human heart, pent up and curbed in a time of peace; to prepare a revel of cruelty, carnage, lust, and death, wherein the demons will gladly rush to their accursed debauch; and finally, when the despair of exhaustion has come on, and human energies are utterly prostrated, this universal war, which was to lay the oppressor low, and regenerate the world, having swept into one common ruin, oppressor and oppressed, will inaugurate a new epoch, but not of liberty. It will reinstate society, but not under constitutional forms; it will build up authority again, but not limited authority; it will reduce the world under the yoke of military tyranny, to commence again the slow progress of political improvement towards the restoration of those institutions which the storm has smitten down in the dust. If this is not to be the result of the schemes which the revolutionists of Europe avow, there is no truth or meaning in the teachings of history.

The literature of the European revolutions is now so extensive, that it is past reading and digesting. Comparatively a small portion of it is written in the impartial spirit of historical criticism. This is especially true of the works which have been called out by the Hungarian war; for in this conflict, there were peculiarities which enlisted the powerful sympathies of the parties of progress in England and the United States. They have been discussed with the vehemence which is usually confined to questions of domestic politics; and have given rise to crimination and recrimination, the bitterness of which has blinded the judgment, roused the vindictive passions, and corrupted the taste. One would suppose, from the dreadful earnestness of the disputants, that salvation

itself depended upon the acceptance or rejection of certain dogmas relative to the Magyar race and the Hungarian rebellion.

A few years ago, but little was known of this people, save that they were a brave and gallant, but not highly civilized nation — one of the component elements of the kingdom of Hungary, and a part of the disjointed empire of Austria. Nine centuries ago, a warlike horde — described by an early Latin chronicler as a race born of demons on the bank of the Jordan, and so filthy and base that, in the language of the pious writer, the supreme Clemency that permitted them to live at all was a subject of incomprehensible wonder — came into Europe from Asia on horseback, and conquered the aborigines of a part of Hungary. The descendants of this horse-taming multitude, whose personal appearance and character are so heavily maligned by the scandalous old chronicler, are the Magyars of the present day, and the ruling race in Hungary, where they have maintained themselves, separated in language, manners, customs, and political constitution from the other tribes that surrounded them, in the *colluvies gentium* on the Danube. The Sclaves and Croatians have never fairly reconciled themselves to the predominance of their oriental invaders and masters. The Magyars have taken but little part in the civilization of Europe. Something was known of their popular poetry, in the translations given to the world, a few years ago, by Dr. Bowring. Since, then, other branches of their literature, not very extensive or important, but interesting as showing the literary development of a language of inferior organization, and of a national genius that had only recently manifested any aptitude for culture, have been discussed in some of the European journals, and still more in our own pages. The elaborate and classical work of Paget communicated to western Europe a picture of Magyar life, as authentic as it is admirably painted, previous to the recent war. And since that calamitous series of events, the works of Schlesinger in Germany, Patten in England, Tefft and Brace in our own country, have been eagerly and universally read. Klapka, Pragay, and other distinguished actors in the bloody scenes of the revolution, have described, with more or less completeness,

the events which they witnessed or participated in. Kossuth, in his extraordinary orations — extraordinary in rhetorical merit, and miraculous in number — has explained his own position, both in England and the United States, — the only two countries now enjoying the rights of freedom of speech. The members of his cabinet have spoken out, from time to time, mostly in censure of his opinions and condemnation of his conduct. And finally, after two years of silence and seclusion, General Görgey appears again upon the scene, with two volumes of vindication and defence from the heavy charge of treason, brought against him wherever the Hungarian exiles have found sympathy and support. These are only a selection of the works which the events referred to have brought out within the last few years.

Mr. Tefft's book is written with the spirit of a scholar, and is the result of much investigation. It is very comprehensive in its plan, elegant in its style, and interesting in its matter, embracing an outline of the political history of Hungary, a sketch of her language and literature, and a history of the Hungarian war, with a full account of the public career of Kossuth. But it is strongly colored with an admiration for the Magyars, and absolute and unhesitating approbation of their cause. Brace's work is one of less substantial merit, but is written with liveliness of style, and has all the attraction of personal adventure. Mr. Brace is a young American of talent and spirit. Visiting Hungary for no political object, yet, with the frankness natural to a free citizen, he conversed in a manner to excite the suspicions of the Austrian police, and paid the penalty of incarceration for a month, obtaining his liberation with no little difficulty even then. His book, naturally, is marked by strong dislike of Austria, and equally strong partialities for the Magyars. He is hasty in his generalizations, his observations having continued only a few weeks in Hungary, and one month in an Austrian fortress. But it is interesting and clear, and not without its value for the isolated pictures it presents of Hungarian society since the war.

But the most elaborate and important work is that whose title is placed at the head of the present article, — "Austria in 1848–49," by Mr. Stiles, the late Chargé

d'Affaires of the United States at the Court of Vienna. Placed in the Austrian capital, at the time of these transactions, in a high official station, he had the best opportunities of observing the course of events, and obtaining the most authentic documents. He has made use of all these sources of information, with praiseworthy impartiality and distinguished ability; and has wrought out a narrative of events, we are persuaded, more to be relied upon than any which has yet appeared in our language. His reflections are generally very judicious and instructive; and his conclusions are marked by the candor and intelligence which were to be expected from one honored with the confidence of his country in so important a post. For the most part, his style is clear and dignified, but the book is disfigured by numerous typographical errors. Here and there occur contradictory opinions and expressions, which are not to be wondered at, on subjects still unsettled in the opinions of the world. His sketches of the principal characters in the drama are well drawn, and highly interesting. On the whole, we may say that this work is one of the most important and trustworthy contributions to the political and military history of the present times. The historical introductions to the several divisions of the work are of special value, having been drawn up after a diligent study of the best and most authoritative writers.

The first volume opens with a summary of the history of Austria and its provinces, down to the treaty of Vienna in 1815, and a sketch of her foreign policy, from the treaty of 1815 to the revolution of March, 1848. On this last topic, Mr. Stiles is particularly instructive. The internal administration of the empire is next discussed, in all its branches. At the close of this chapter, he states a few interesting facts relating to the views entertained by Prince Metternich upon the prospects of Europe; but he hardly does justice to the sagacity of that eminent man. From a recently published pamphlet, printed by him for private distribution among his friends, it is evident that Metternich clearly foresaw, in outline, the great events which have taken place in Hungary.

Book second begins with an account of the French movement of 1848, and its effects upon the Austrian cabi-

net and capital, and the measures taken in consequence. This is succeeded by an animated sketch of the measures taken by the government, to carry into practical effect the concessions just made, — measures, which, in the language of Mr. Stiles, "manifested a sincere desire, as well as effort, on the part of the government, to fulfil its promises, and carry out the reforms projected." The author next proceeds to point out the principal difficulties to which the Empire was at that time exposed; the differences of race; the sudden transition from an absolute to a constitutional government; and the troubles arising from the want of a popular ministry. The consequences of some or all these circumstances soon began to show themselves.

"It might have been expected that the people, duly acknowledging the important concessions granted them by the crown, would have rendered all the aid in their power towards carrying out the reforms which it had promised, and which it exhibited every disposition faithfully to fulfil. Such, however, was far from being the case. The gratitude which they felt, though almost unbounded at first, was but of short duration; and in a very few days, every effort on the part of the people was made to increase those embarrassments, already nearly insurmountable.

"Even the students of the university, whose important and laudable efforts had contributed so much to the success of the Revolution, became perfectly intoxicated by the glory which they had acquired, and the praise and homage bestowed upon them from every quarter, and soon conducted themselves in a manner, not only to tarnish the fair fame which they had acquired, but to cover themselves with disgrace.

"As soon as it became known throughout Europe that Austria had joined the progressive movement of the times, emissaries from different parts of the Continent, particularly from France and Northern Germany, flocked to Vienna, and, by their acuteness and activity, soon discovered the elements upon which to base their operations. The students of the university, ardent, inexperienced, and untiring, became admirable instruments in the hands of the unprincipled propagandists, whose great effort seemed everywhere to break down all government, destroy all the bonds of society, and to produce, as rapidly as possible, a Pandemonium on earth. So artfully did they flatter the vanity, and minister to the pride of the inexperienced youths, that they found it but an easy task to convince them of their fitness to perform the first parts in the drama before them, and to utter the

leading voice in the reorganization of the state; and there was, consequently, from that period, no measure of the government which they did not feel themselves called upon to consider, and universally to condemn." Vol. i. pp. 116, 117.

"In a few weeks, Vienna was flooded with a most shameful literature. At every corner of the streets, and in all the public places, placards were stuck up for the perusal of those passing by, while boys and old men hawked about the streets the most licentious prints and pamphlets. These outrageous productions soon exercised the most baneful influence over the ignorant and already corrupt mob, instilling into them a poison, which they swallowed with the greater avidity, because it had so long been forbidden. The most unwarranted attacks were made upon the imperial family; the most high and honorable statesmen were, in placards, exposed to the vilest abuse, and the nobility and clergy to the utmost insult. The sanctity of private life and character was most shamefully evaded. Private differences became matters of public discussion, and the most solemn secrets of domestic life were published to the world. Every villain embraced the opportunity to inflict a stab in the dark, as it were, upon the man of irreproachable character, because he happened to be his enemy. In short, this liberty was soon changed into licentiousness, and this blessing into a curse.

"Many new newspapers appeared, which soon increased the number from three to one hundred; these were the weapons with which the designing operated. By these means the students were excited to a still greater degree of intolerance and madness; the *proletaria* were corrupted, and the citizens, eulogized as the vanguard of liberty throughout the Continent, became, for the most part, bewildered and extravagant both in their opinions and designs. The people, by these means, being thoroughly demoralized, violations of law and order soon commenced." Vol. i. pp. 117, 118.

Another extract shows the students in the light of practical reformers.

"The students began now to cultivate a most cordial intimacy with the lowest classes of the population. Declaring war against the nobility, clergy, military, and court; criticizing and censuring whatever of character and respectability existed among these classes of society, they became the flatterers of the mob; talked to the *proletaria* of their sacred rights, and of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of all classes of society; and, with the breath of adulation, instilled into their minds the poison of corruption. For the advancement of their purposes, and to give more extensive circulation to their baneful influence, numerous clubs were

now formed. Like that of the Jacobins at Paris, these clubs were the rendezvous of all the agitators. Here the masses received the first beams of enlightenment, and heard for the first time such words as liberty and sovereignty of the people; or, rather, were first taught practical definitions of those terms; that of the first, licentiousness; and of the second, anarchy. By a republic, they understood a total absence of all government. Each one, under such an administration, being a sovereign — the equal, in all respects, to the emperor; and their commands, whatever they might be, entitled equally to implicit obedience. Respect for the authority of the laws was a lesson which they were never taught." Vol. i. pp. 122, 123.

A few days after, the Emperor fled from his capital; the confusion and dismay of the rioters, at this unexpected result of their demonstrations, are well described. But we pass over this and other equally interesting topics, — the meeting of the deputies to form a constitution, and the interminable riots and alarms, to which the peaceful citizens were exposed from the insolence of the students and the workmen, — and all the other events of the revolution of March, to the painfully interesting chapter, in which the horrors of the 6th of October are recounted — a day forever memorable in the annals of revolutionary crime. Several important truths were demonstrated by these proceedings. "We wish no such Republic as you have in the United States," exclaimed one of the ablest of the radical leaders to Mr. Stiles; "we wish something original; we wish a government where there shall be not only an equality of rights and of rank, but an equality of property, and an equality of every thing." And another said, "Sir, the only course left to us is to raise the *guillotine*, and to keep it in constant and active operation; and our only watchword should be, *Blood! Blood! Blood!* and the more blood that flows, the sooner shall we attain our liberties." These were the atrocious sentiments too generally current among the reformers of those days; and the natural fruit of such sentiments, openly promulgated and warmly applauded, were the brutal murders of Prince Lichnowski, and Count Auerswald, at Frankfort; of Count Latour at Vienna; of Count Lamberg at Pesth; and of Count Rossi at Rome! It is an infamy to compare these revolutions with the war our fathers waged against the

armies of Great Britain. There is no more resemblance between them, than there is between the deeds of the midnight assassin, and the brave defence of the man who fights for his household hearth. The murder of Count Latour was one of the incidents in the second Revolution at Vienna, and is thus related.

"The tide of insurrection now rose to an unconquerable height. The nearest shots of the retiring cannons, the advancing shouts of the infuriated people, warned the ministers that all defence was rapidly becoming hopeless. The building itself still offered some means of resistance, and there were two cannons in the court; but at this crisis was issued a written order, signed by Latour and Wessenberg, "to cease the fire at all points," and given to officers for distribution.* It was in vain. The popular torrent rolled on towards the seat of government, which was destined ere long to be disgraced by atrocious crime. The Minister of War, Count Latour, prepared for defence. The military on guard in front of the War Office were withdrawn into the yard, with two pieces of artillery loaded with grape. The gates were closed, the military distributed to the different threatened points, and the cannons directed toward the two gates. Soon the scene of battle had reached the Bogner Gasse, immediately under the windows of the War Department; the ministers in consultation heard the cry, '*The military retreat.*' The great square of the Hof was soon cleared, the soldiers retiring by the way of the Freyung. The guards and Academic Legion pursuing, the military commander's quarters in the Freyung are soon captured. The retiring military, not being able to escape through the Schotten-Thor as they had expected — that gate being closed and barricaded — they cut their way through the *Herrn Gasse.*

"So intent were the respective combatants, either in retreat or pursuit, that the whole tempest of war swept over the Hof, and left that square for a short time deserted and silent.

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* The last order issued by the unfortunate Latour was intrusted to Colonel Gustave Schindler, of the imperial engineers, an efficient officer, as well as a most amiable and accomplished gentleman, and one well and favorably known in the United States, from his kind attention to Americans who have visited the Austrian capital. The colonel was in the act of passing out of the great door of the War Office, which opens on to the Hof, when the mob reached that spot. Recognized by his imperial uniform, he was instantly surrounded and attacked. He received many blows over the head, inflicted by the crowd with clubs and iron bars; was most severely wounded, and would probably have been killed but for the timely interference of one of the rabble, who, riding up on horseback between the colonel and the mob, shielded him from further blows, and finally effected his escape.

"But that stillness was of but short duration; a few moments only had elapsed, when a number of straggling Guards, students and people, came stealing silently from the Graben, through the Bogner, Nagler, and Glocken Gasse, on to the Hof, and removed the dead and the wounded into the neighboring dwellings, and into the deserted guard-house in the War Department. These were soon followed by a fierce and noisy mob, armed with axes, pikes, and iron bars, which halted before the War Office, and began to thunder at its massive doors.

"The officer of ordnance in vain attempted to communicate to the crowd the order of the ministry, that all firing should cease. A member of the Academic Legion, from the window over the gateway, waved with a white handkerchief to the tumultuous masses, and exhibiting the order signed by Latour and Wessenberg, read its contents to the crowd.

"But a pacification was not to be thought of; the people were too excited, their fury could only be appeased by blood; that delayed measure was not sufficient; they made negative gesticulations, and summoned the student to come down and open the portals to their admission. The tumult increased from minute to minute; the closed doors at length gave way under the axes of the mob, and the people streamed in, led by a man 'in a light gray coat.'

"The Secretary of War having by this time abandoned the idea of defence, on the ground either that it was useless or impolitic, no shots were fired or active resistance offered; but the orderlies, with their horses, retired to the stables, and the grenadiers into an inner court. At first, only single individuals entered, and their course was not characterized by violence; then groups, proceeding slowly, listening, and searching; and, at last, the tumultuous masses thundered in the rear.

"Ere long, the cry rung on the broad stair-case, 'Where is Latour? he must die!' At this moment, the ministers and their followers in the building, with the exception of Latour himself, found means to escape, or mingled with the throng. The deputies, Smolka, Borrosch, Goldmark, and Sierakowski, who had undertaken to guarantee protection to the threatened ministers, arrived in the hope of restraining the mob. The numerous corridors and cabinets of the War Office (formerly a monastery of Jesuits) were filled with the crowd; the tide of insurrection now rose to an uncontrollable height; and the danger of Latour became every moment more imminent. The generals who were with him, perceiving the peril, entreated him to throw himself upon the Nassau regiment, or the *Dutch Meister* grenadiers, and retreat to their barracks. He scorned the proposal, denied the danger, and even refused, for some time, to change his uniform

for a civilian's dress, until the hazard becoming more evident, he put on plain clothes, and went up into a small room in the roof of the building, where he soon after signed a paper declaring that, with his majesty's consent, he was ready to resign the office of Minister of War. A *Tecnicker*,* named Rauch, who, it was said, had come to relieve the Secretary of War, was seized and hung in the court by his own scarf, but fortunately cut down by a National Guard before life was extinct. The mob rushed into the private apartments of the minister, but plundered it merely of the papers, which were conveyed to the university. They came with a sterner purpose. The act of resignation, exhibited to the crowd by the Deputy Smolka, was scornfully received by the people, while the freshness of the writing, the sand adhering still to the ink, betrayed the proximity of the hand which had just traced it. Meanwhile, the crowd had penetrated the corridors of the fourth story, and were not long in discovering the place of Latour's concealment. Hearing their approach, and recognizing the voice of Smolka, vice-president of the Assembly, who was doubtless anxious to protect him, Latour came out of his retreat. They descended together from the fourth story by a narrow stairway, on the right-hand side of the building, and entered the yard by the pump. At each successive landing-place, the tumult and the crowd increased; but the descent was slow, and rendered more and more difficult by the numbers which joined the crowd at every turn of the stairs. At length they reached the court below, and Count Latour, although he had been severely pressed, was still unhurt; but here the populace, which awaited them, broke in upon the group that still clustered around Latour, and dispersed it. In vain did the deputies, Smolka and Sierakowski, endeavor to protect the minister; in vain did Count Leopold Gondrecourt attempt to cover him by the exposure of his own body. A workman struck the hat from his head; others pulled him by his gray locks — he defending himself with his hands, which were already bleeding. At length a ruffian, disguised as a Magyar, gave him, from behind, a mortal blow with a hammer, the man in the gray coat cleft his face with a sabre, and another plunged a bayonet into his heart. A hundred wounds followed, and, with the words, '*I die innocent!*' he gave up his loyal and manly spirit. A cry of exultation from the assembled crowd rent the air at this event. Every indignity was offered to his body; before he had ceased to breathe even, they hung him by a cord to the grating of a window in the court of the War Office. He had been suspended there but a few minutes when, from the outrages committed on it, the body fell." Vol. ii. pp. 98–101.

* A student of the Polytechnic School, for brevity, usually called *Tecnickers*.

The insurrection in Lombardy, the invasion of Charles Albert, the movements of Radetzky and Nugent, the final overthrow and the retreat of the ill-fated king, fill up, with varied interest, a series of animated chapters; but the history of the revolution in Venice, its brief triumph, its protracted and terrible siege and obstinate defence, with the final surrender, are more extraordinary and wonderful. After a brief summary of the history of Venice, down to the period under consideration, Mr. Stiles takes up the story of these startling events, in which the popular leader, orator, president, dictator, Daniel Manin, plays the most conspicuous part. This celebrated personage was born at Padua, in 1804; studied law, and was admitted at the age of 28 to the Venetian bar. In 1847, he began to agitate for reform, and so fell under the suspicions of the Austrian police. In January of 1848, he, with his compatriot, Niccolo Tomaseo, was thrown into prison. But when the revolutionary tide reached Venice, the release of these imprisoned martyrs was the first measure exacted by the populace from Count Palfy, the civil governor. The Austrians were taken by surprise, and completely paralyzed; the insurrection was successful; the popular demands were submitted to by the feeble and vacillating governor, and the life of the only man, Marinovich, who showed the least ability or energy, fell a sacrifice to the deliberate determination of the mob to shed his blood.

The audacity inspired by the first successes of the insurrection, and the unavenged murder of Marinovich, blinded the Venetians to the terrible fate that was lowering upon them at a distance, and slowly but surely drawing nigh. All propositions for conciliation were haughtily rejected; the republic was proclaimed, to flash like a meteor across the political sky, and to disappear as suddenly and as utterly. The last scenes of this strange eventful history, are thus described.

"Day after day, unceasingly, the cannonading continues; at many points the bombs set fire to the buildings, but these are soon extinguished without much injury; and as the balls seldom, if ever, penetrated further than the roof and one story, the population are unconcerned. Provisions become hourly more scarce: the supply can last but two weeks longer, and yet the people

very quietly say, 'We will hold out until we have nothing more to eat, and then the Croats may come and do what they please.'

"To add to the horrors of their situation, the cholera broke out among the inhabitants in its most dreadful and malignant form, its ravages, doubtless, increased by the scanty and unwholesome food upon which they had been for some time compelled to subsist; and yet, amid all these disasters, the city remained tranquil, the Place of St. Mark was as much frequented as ever, and the countenances of the Venetians as bright as though enjoying the sunshine of the palmiest days of the republic.

"On the 14th of August, Marshal Radetzky, aware of the state to which the city was reduced, renewed his efforts to induce it to capitulate, by offering nearly the same terms that had been previously rejected. Strange that now, when ammunition, food, medicine, drink, even water was failing — when to the general misery and squalor the cholera is added, carrying off from eighty to one hundred a day, in Venice and Chioggia, families without bread, without a roof, in search of shelter and victuals, old men, women, and children crammed into the public store-houses, or under the naked sky exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather and all the bombs and balls of the Austrians, these terms, quite as moderate as could possibly have been expected, were again rejected.

"On the 17th, the president of the republic, warned by the rapid progress of public danger that longer resistance was impossible, in consultation with the commandant of the French squadron and the French consul, it was decided, as the only and last means of safety, to send a Venetian deputation to the Austrian camp with an offer of capitulation. General Gergowski, commander of the Austrian troops before Venice, received the deputation on the 19th; and, in reply to their application, stated that he had no power to treat, but that he would immediately forward their note to Milan, and that, during the time necessary to receive a reply from Marshal Radetzky, he would consent to slacken his fire on the city; and further, that Venice might confide in the paternal intentions of the emperor, and in the enlightened and liberal spirit of his government. The deputation, comprehending the exact value to be attached to such phrases, returned dejected and disconsolate to Venice.

"Time rolls on, the reply from Milan is hourly expected, the destiny of a nation hangs on the balance, and a day becomes an age. The fire of the enemy, somewhat slackened on the 20th and 21st, is renewed on the night of the latter with as great severity as ever. What will be the nature of the reply from Milan? What terms will an all-powerful and long-provoked enemy inflict upon an utterly weak and prostrate foe?

"No one knows, but all fear they will be rigorous in the ex-

treme. The republic approaches its end. Venice has but two days' provisions left, and those of the worst kind. The progress of the cholera is frightful. The absolute and unconditional surrender of the city within two days, inevitable. The 22d of August arrives, and with it the answer of the field-marshal. That octogenarian commander, as magnanimous as renowned, has affixed no additional stipulations on his fallen foe; the terms are accepted by the municipality of Venice, in whose favor the Provisional Government and the National Assembly have abdicated their powers; the firing has ceased on both sides, and the republic of Venice is no more." Vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

The next subject in order is some account of the Sclavonian races, introductory to the story of the revolutionary movements in Bohemia, the outbreak in Prague, and the bombardment of that city; and the first volume closes with a sketch of the Panslavist theories, which have occupied so much of the attention of the European world during the last twenty years.

The text of the second volume is chiefly occupied with Hungarian affairs, and an appendix containing a series of documents, of great importance, as illustrating the history of the period in discussion. One chapter, from which we have already taken an extract, is devoted to the second Revolution in Vienna; and another, to the conclusion of the war between the Austrians and Charles Albert. A brief sketch of the early history of Hungary is prefixed to the details of the disastrous revolutionary movements of 1848.

The Magyars, separated by race, language, and institutions from the surrounding tribes, among whom they had thrust themselves, had early founded a kingdom, which maintained its independence until 1526, when it placed itself under the protection of the Austrian crown, by electing Ferdinand king of Hungary. The constitution of Hungary embraced all the worst principles of feudalism, so far as concerns the relations between the peasants and their masters; but the succession to the Hungarian crown was elective, and continued to be so, until it was made hereditary in the House of Hapsburg, in 1687. But the Emperor, though from this time forward the hereditary successor to the Hungarian crown, received it under rigid conditions, as an independent and constitutional

sovereignty, the ancient laws and rights of which the monarch bound himself, by the coronation oath and the diploma of inauguration, to preserve inviolate. In 1723, the succession was still farther modified by the Pragmatic Sanction, by being made hereditary in the female as well as the male line. It does not appear that the Pragmatic Sanction changed the relations between Austria and Hungary in any other respect; the monarch was still bound to administer the government according to the ancient constitution, and wholly without reference to his hereditary Austrian possessions.

The old Hungarian constitution has been sufficiently discussed in former numbers of this Journal; and to go over the ground again would be only a repetition of what has been said before. It is sufficient to say that it was entirely unsuited to the advanced state of political knowledge in our age, and needed careful and judicious reforms, in almost every department. Its gross and glaring oppression of the lower classes, and the unjust privileges it bestowed on the higher, were equally injurious to the oppressor and oppressed; for it is a law of political retribution, that the tyrant, while he inflicts harm upon the victims of his usurped power, can never escape the penalty of an avenging Nemesis in his own person. The Hungarians, at the beginning of the present century, were greatly behind all the nations of Europe in the essential elements of civilization; the nobles, as a class, were as much below the upper classes in other countries, in education, intellectual culture, and political knowledge, as the peasants were below the peasantry of other countries in political rights.

The government was administered, as is well known, chiefly through the Hungarian Chancery in Vienna, and the Palatine, who represented the monarch, with a council of twenty-two members, nominated by the crown, resident at Buda. The legislative power was vested in a Diet, which, originating in the armed assembly of the Hungarian nation, finally assumed the form of a parliament, consisting of two Chambers or Tables, the first consisting of the higher clergy, the barons and counts of the kingdom, and the magnates; the second, or Lower House, consisting of deputies from the comitats, the free cities and

towns. The Upper House was hereditary, and contained, in all, six or seven hundred members, of whom only thirty or forty usually attended. The Lower House embraced about two hundred and fifty. Even this slight sketch of the departments of the Hungarian constitution, in its political aspect alone, is enough to show the incongruity of its union with the absolutism of Austria. However strongly the privileges of the kingdom were guarded by compacts, and oaths, and inaugurations, it was hardly in the nature of things that the maxims and policy of Austria should not, in the course of time, overweigh, with a tremendous inclination of the scale, the opposite tendencies of the constitution. The necessity of protection first called in the powerful house of Hapsburg to assume the royal authority in Hungary; a political necessity, the force of which rises almost to the uniform character of a law of nature, drove the Austrian into attempts to consolidate his new and restricted acquisition with his inherited and absolute possessions. This was the fact historically, from the first moment of the union of the two crowns upon a single head. The transfer of so large a part of the administration to Vienna was a long stride towards the overthrow of the constitution; and the attempts, some of which were successful, on the part of the monarchs, to evade their constitutional obligations by refusing to take the oaths, and undergo the ceremony of coronation, according to the ancient usages of the realm, were clear indications of the political gravitation which was slowly bringing the kingdom into the position of a component part of the Austrian empire. Many of the Hungarian aristocracy belonged rather to the court circles of Vienna, than to the proud rank of territorial barons, holding their princely courts in their impregnable castles. The Magyars, from the beginning, were a military race; and many of the bravest and best of their high-spirited nobility were distinguished officers in the Imperial armies, owing allegiance directly to the Emperor of Austria, and not to the king of Hungary. On this point of official allegiance, the distinction between that due to the sovereign as king, and that due to him as emperor, was practically reduced to a shadow. It was only an historical remembrance, and

not a vital, present thing. It is true, there was, at times, a vigorous opposition to the encroachments of Austria, especially among the Magyars, in the Diet; but on the whole, there prevailed an undistinguishing feeling of enthusiastic loyalty to the House of Hapsburg, as the ancient and rightful sovereigns of Hungary; and the terrible oppression of the Hungarian constitution, the irresponsible powers of the nobility over a subjugated and enslaved people, lost the Magyars the support of the multitude in their contests with the Austrian crown.

The operation was still further complicated by the subordinate relations between the different races, which made up the kingdom of Hungary, and the ancient and ineradicable hatred between them. The Magyars were the predominant race, to whom the Sclaves, Croatians, Wallachians, and Germans bore the fiercest hostility; and the feuds between these nationalities have always been a sad comment on the small chance there has been of establishing an effective "solidarity of the peoples." These divisions, irreconcilable because founded on distinctions of race, weakened the means of opposition to the centralizing policy of Austria, and strengthened, in the same proportion, the hands of the imperialists. In short, it was the old fable of the horse and his rider, over again; the man who had been allowed to mount, during the time of danger, kept his seat and subdued the noble animal to obedience by bit and spur, after the danger was over. But the happiness of the great body of the people was not injuriously affected, by this transfer of power. On the contrary, the Austrian influence, on the whole, bettered their condition. It was a contest between absolute monarchy and an odious oligarchy; in such a contest, the crown is always the friend to popular rights, and the people rally round the throne against their petty oppressors. It was absurd, indeed, to expect an absolute king to favor the pretensions of a proud and independent aristocracy; and still more absurd to expect one and the same prince, to be a despot in his hereditary dominions, and a limited and constitutional ruler in a bordering state. The consequences of this incompatibility of functions followed naturally and inevitably, in spite of an-

cient usages and historical rights; not by open and violent proceedings, for the most part, but by those subtle and secret processes and influences, which a wealthy and powerful despotism knows how to wield for its purposes. Had the old constitution remained, humanity would have found nothing to regret in the entire success of the Austrian scheme to incorporate Hungary into the Empire, and to blend the administration of Hungary with that of the other component parts into a united system of government.

But the opposition to Austria, or the patriotic party, combined in itself two elements; one, conservative of Hungarian institutions as they were, as against Austrian encroachment; another, equally opposed to Austrian encroachment, but also eager to introduce radical reforms into the constitution of the kingdom, thus adapting it to the wants of the age, and to a more enlightened political system; both, however, contemplating the preservation of the monarchical form, and of the union under the crown of Austria. A third element, but more secret in its manifestations, was the republican or democratic, which looked forward hopefully to the entire overthrow of aristocracy and monarchy, and to the establishment of a government upon the principle of the absolute equality of all mankind. The party which represented this third element was numerically very small, and, as Pulsky says, it had little or no influence in the country. It is probable that neither of the parties, in whom these principles were embodied, distinctly saw the ends at which they were aiming. Those who struggled merely to keep alive the oppressive system of the old constitution against the attacks of Austria, — to secure their own unjust privileges against the usurpations of another tyranny, entitled themselves to no sympathy on the part of the enlightened lovers of liberty; those who strove to maintain the historical rights of the nation, and at the same time to temper the institutions of the country according to principles of equal justice and the demands of a cultivated age, are deserving of the commendation of good men everywhere, and history will proclaim their merits in her imperishable records. Whether the projects of the republican schemers were worthy of approbation, depends on the question

whether, in the first place, the nation, in its collective capacity was fitted to receive and administer republican institutions; whether it desired them, as of choice; whether, supposing it was fitted for them, and desired them, it was capable of maintaining them, surrounded, as they would be, by great and powerful nations, to which they would be objects of suspicion and constant hostility; in fine, whether such institutions were suited to produce, in that country, and in the present state of the world, the greatest possible amount of human happiness and national prosperity. A negative answer to these questions would be a condemnation of this party; not of their motives, but of their wisdom and judgment.

The condition of Hungary was greatly improved by the policy of another party still, of whom Count Stephen Széchényi may be considered the representative and head. The patriotic services of this enlightened and distinguished nobleman have already been fully discussed in this Review. Alas! that the rashness or incompetency of those who displaced and succeeded him, should have arrested the safe, and prosperous, and constitutional career, upon which, under his auspices, the country had entered!

The most important political changes accomplished previous to the late war, by the combined efforts of the liberals, were, — 1. The emancipation of the peasantry. 2. The equal distribution of the public burdens among all the citizens. 3. Civil equality, and the participation of all classes in legislative and political power, with some other provisions for the removal of disabilities, the security of property, and the equal administration of justice. All these measures would have been worthy of unqualified commendation, had they been taken with caution, and if the evil consequences of sudden and extensive changes had been sufficiently guarded against. But this degree of wisdom was found to be wanting in the Hungarian legislators. The rights of the proprietors, seriously affected by the liberation of the peasants from their customary dues, were, in effect, though probably not in intention, sacrificed to the passion of the hour. "The landlords," says Mr. Stiles, in his able analysis of these proceedings, "are to receive an indemnification, rather vaguely expressed by a high-flown Magyar phrase, namely,

'The Legislature places the indemnification of the landed proprietors under the protecting shield of the national honor.'" The convulsions that followed immediately upon the outbreak of 1848 broke in pieces "the protecting shield of the national honor," and left the landed proprietors despoiled of one half their property. Kossuth had sketched the outlines of a practical scheme for adjusting the conflicting interests of the different parties. But the mistake was committed in not having matured it in all its details, and incorporated it in the legislative act by which the complete emancipation of the peasant — a noble sacrifice to the rights of man, and worthy of an everlasting place in history — was finally consummated. These were not all accomplished without the aid of the impulse from without, imparted by the Revolution at Paris in 1848, which, by the terror and confusion it wrought everywhere on the Continent, so deeply affected the condition of every European nation. The steps taken by the political leaders in Hungary are matters of history; the most important measure secured by them was the appointment of a Hungarian ministry, with Count Louis Batthiányi at its head, through whom the Executive power was to be exclusively exercised; thus putting an end to the system of the Chancery at Vienna. This concession was of the first importance; and had the nation been well prepared for the vast political changes, urged on with such breathless rapidity, the new administration would have been the source of lasting and inappreciable blessings to a generous people. But the nation was not prepared; the peasants were not able to bear the light of liberty by which their eyes were suddenly dazzled. Mr. Stiles points out, briefly but strikingly, some of the dangers and disasters into which hasty emancipation led the country.

"The ameliorations which had been affected produced the utmost satisfaction throughout the kingdom; but this bright day in Hungarian history was of short duration.

"In the first place, the change was too sudden, from the restraints of a rigid government to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty, and the people,* with no knowledge or experience of rational freedom, gave way to the utmost license; while the new government, scarcely organized, was too feeble to check their

"* The masses, who previously enjoyed no privileges."

excesses, or afford protection to the persons and property of the more peaceful inhabitants.

"Demonstrations, consequently, occurred in various portions of the kingdom, which would have disgraced the barbarism of the darker ages, and could not have been looked for in the nineteenth century in any portion of the civilized globe.

"In the Eisenburger comitat, an attack was made by the mob upon the Jews, plundering and maltreating this unfortunate race without cause, and only for the gratification of a national antipathy. In the Szatmar comitat, the poor landlords rose against the rich ones, and, equally without reason, slaughtered the nobles and destroyed their princely dwellings. In Middle Szolnok, so weak were the authorities, that a sworn jury fell victims to the popular rage. At Chemnitz, and in its neighborhood, the Sclavic national fanaticism became daily more dangerous. At Neusatz, the mob took down the Hungarian flag and burned it, and then raised a red one in its place; at the same time, they seized the first fiscal officer of the town, brought him into the market-place, and there cut him literally in pieces. At Kikinda, and other points, outrages occurred too horrible to relate. These isolated atrocities of the mob could easily have been quelled by the presence of an efficient military force; but at that time, the number of regular troops throughout the whole kingdom did not exceed eighteen thousand men. Repeatedly did the Hungarian ministry appeal to the Austrian government for assistance to suppress this anarchy; and it was only after these urgent and repeated applications had been attended with no success, that the first threats of separation escaped the nation." Vol. ii. 56, 57.

In the next place, the old enmity of races, scarcely held in check before, now burst forth with terrible effect. The rights of the nationalities composing, by an ill-compacted union, one kingdom, were fiercely asserted, the moment the common authority of Austria was partially set aside. "It was the great error of the Hungarians," says Mr. Stiles, "and the rock upon which their bark of state was wrecked, that, while they were struggling with the imperial government for the establishment of their own nationality, they were reluctant altogether to respect the nationality of those provinces which lay within their borders." This error, it is true, they afterwards endeavored to correct; but only when it was too late. Previously to this, another question had been debated in the Diet, with no little violence. In earlier times, the official language of Hungary was the Latin. However

inconvenient and absurd the custom of employing an ancient language in the transaction of the affairs of a modern nation might be, it had, at least, the merit of giving equal rights to all the nationalities. It was a clumsy and inconvenient contrivance, but equally clumsy to Sclavonian, Croatian, and Magyar. It was a judicious step to do it away; but which of the numerous languages spoken in Hungary to substitute for it, was a difficult and delicate problem to solve. The Magyars suddenly became proud of their native tongue, which, according to the magniloquent boast of one of their patriots, they brought with them from the Himmalaya. In point of fact, it is a language resembling in its structure those of middle and northern Asia, whence the Magyars migrated in the ninth century. It has no affinities with the Indo-European languages, either in its lexicon or its grammatical structure; and it belongs to a lower type, called, by comparative philologists, the agglutinating. It has never been the organ of a comprehensive civilization, like the German, and other European languages, and, in this respect, is even inferior to the Sclavonic dialects. The educated Magyars, universally, are trained in German or French, or both, as well as, to some extent, in the ancient classics. Yet the Magyar is undoubtedly a copious and powerful language, and capable of being made the instrument of a rich national poesy, of a very different form and spirit, however, from either the Teutonic or Romanic culture of Middle and Southern Europe. It is decidedly oriental in its turn of expression, as the genuine Magyar mind is oriental in its cast of thought. That it is capable of being moulded to the forms of a high and beautiful eloquence, Kossuth has demonstrated beyond a doubt. Yet it would seem, that, if one language was to have the precedence over the rest, it would have been more judicious to select that by which the national mind might have connected itself most directly with the highest civilization of the age. But this is only a theoretical view. The practical course, evidently, was to leave all the languages on a perfect equality, however great the inconvenience might have been, and even had it been logically demonstrable that ultimately it was for the interests of Hungary that the Magyar should displace every other.

In this way, the old jealousies of Magyar encroachment would have been wholly prevented, and one of the main causes of the war of races, which deluged the country in blood, and gave Austria an opportunity of interfering with the strong hand, would never have existed.

The defence set up by the Magyar party, especially in this country, that the establishment of the supremacy of one language was a necessity, and that it had its parallel in the establishment of the English language in the United States, is a fallacy. There is no analogy between the two cases at all. The United States are, from the beginning, an English race. Emigrants of other races, and other languages, it is true, crowd hither, in vast numbers; but they come, and they have always come, as individuals, as future citizens of the United States, conforming to an order of things long existing, and not proposing to form separate nationalities, to be represented as such in the national confederacy. The question of language never can be raised, under such circumstances, because the question of nationality never can be raised. We are not a congeries of nations and tribes, united in a confederacy, but we are all of one nation — citizens of the United States. The case requires only to be stated, that the absurdity of the argument may clearly manifest itself. There is not the shadow of a resemblance between the position of the English language in the United States, and that of the Magyar language in Hungary. Had the matter been left to take its natural course, it is probable enough, that, in the course of time, the Magyar would have silently worked its way to the preëminence which was arrogantly asserted for it at the outset; but the claims of its advocates, notwithstanding the important concessions they made to the Sclaves and Croatians, still maintained such a superiority of position, that the self-respect and national pride of the other races were intensely excited, and to this cause much of the ferocity of the war they waged against the government of Kossuth must be attributed. Mr. Stiles forcibly says, "Instead of increasing by these measures the hostility of the neighboring provinces, had the Hungarian ministers taken the necessary steps to appease that feeling, and, by respecting their different nationalities, have secured their confidence

and support, they would have united in their cause a force which would, in defence of their soil, and with the peculiar advantages of the country for their mode of warfare, have been perhaps invincible by any armies which Austria, either alone, or when aided by Russia, could bring against them. The population of Hungary and its provinces, is estimated at about fourteen millions; *of this number, a little over five millions only are Magyars, and the remainder, (nearly nine millions,) instead of battling with them, were, by the course of the Hungarian Diet and Ministry, driven into the ranks of their opponents.*"

We must, therefore, agree with Mr. Stiles in considering this agitation of the question of language, a fatal error of the ultra Magyar party. The debate on this subject, in the Diet of 1847–48, of which Mr. Stiles furnishes an interesting analysis, gave significant warning of the consequences which would probably follow. The issue between the Magyar and Sclavic principles was distinctly joined. The speeches of Ossegovich, the Croatian delegate in the Lower House, and of the Sclavonian delegates, and those of Haulik and Busan in the Upper House, exhibited the sensitiveness to which the Magyar pretensions had given birth, not only in the popular feeling, but in the minds of the most enlightened men of the respective races.

The reform, however, in the main seemed to advance with prosperous gales. The Emperor had not only signed the various reform bills which had passed the Diet, but he had yielded the point of an independent ministry; and there was no apparent reason why the kingdom of Hungary should not go on in a rapid and successful career of material and political improvement. The cabinet consisted of the most eminent men of the liberal party, — men in whom the country reposed almost unlimited confidence. The only dangers that threatened the final success of this grand movement, arose from the want of preparation among the people for the full measure of liberty meted out to them by the reformers, from the hot haste with which radical changes were making, from the discord of races and nationalities, and from the certainty that the Imperial government would return, as far as possible and as soon as possible, to the old despotic principles; that as soon as

the effervescence of the revolutionary spirit had somewhat subsided, a reactionary tendency would succeed it, and every means would be employed to restore, if not the ancient order of things, at least the ancient power of the Imperial Court. The excesses of the revolution in Vienna, and the manifest incompetency of the popular leaders, gave only too good an excuse to the supporters of despotism; and the ill-adjusted relations of Hungary, the immediate consequences of the emancipation of the peasants, together with the horrible murder of Count Lamberg, which the Hungarian government unwisely and wickedly suffered to pass unpunished, with only a few faint words of regret for the atrocity, gave a similar excuse to the imperialists, to revoke, at the earliest practicable moment, the extorted concessions, and to treat Hungary as a revolted province. The contest soon began in good earnest, and rapidly matured into a struggle for life and death. The state of things in Hungary required the calmest and most sagacious statesmanship; instead of this, rash and heady counsels prevailed, and all was lost.

It is not our purpose to follow the fortunes of unhappy Hungary minutely through the many-colored events of the short and sharp struggle which ended in her downfall. Mr. Stiles has given a luminous, and generally an impartial account. It is asserted, by the uncompromising supporters of the Magyar cause, that the war between the Croatians and Hungarians was stirred up by the intrigues of Austria, and Mr. Stiles appears to adopt this view of the case. But we think the facts and illustrations which he gives of the hostility of races directly contradict this assertion, in its absolute form. The seeds of the war had already been planted by the Magyars themselves, in a soil fully prepared to receive them. No doubt, the Imperial government stood ready to avail itself of every advantage the distracted state of the country held out; no doubt, the Austrians slighted the obligations they had taken upon themselves in the time of distress, just as soon as the turning current of events placed them in a position to retrieve what they had been compelled to surrender. To this extent, the charge of bad faith justly lies at the door of the Austrian government; but the opportunity to break their faith was insanely given them

by the incredible rashness of their opponents. The double-dealing of Austria, in first denouncing the Ban Jellachich as a traitor for his attack on Hungary, even pretending to depose him from all his dignities and to summon him into the Imperial presence, apparently intending to bring him to a traitor's doom, and afterwards sanctioning his movements, and finally giving him open support, making him one of the instruments of the subjection of Hungary, is a striking example of royal duplicity. We agree entirely in the condemnation passed upon these acts by Mr. Stiles. All that can be said in their justification is, that the apparent yielding to the urgency of the Hungarian ministry, headed by the Palatine himself, was a reluctant concession, made while the Emperor was under a kind of duress; and by the Jesuitical reasoning of despotic morals, promises so made are of no binding effect. It may also be urged, that radical and dangerous tendencies were rapidly developing themselves, and that, to secure the empire from anarchy and dissolution, no other way was left than to retrace the path of concession the first moment the probability of success dawned amidst the revolutionary storm. However this may be, the deed was done, and Austria stood before the world, stained in the public opinion with the crimes of duplicity and perjury, — her only defence, the supposed necessity of recovering her ancient despotic sway. She had yielded to the tempest, because she could not withstand its violence; when the tempest had spent its force, she sprang back again, and stood up as absolute as ever.

The appointment of Count Lamberg, pronounced by the Hungarian Diet unconstitutional, the brutal murder of that unfortunate nobleman, the nomination of Recsey as President of the Hungarian ministry, the attempted dissolution of the Diet, the appointment of Jellachich Royal Commissioner, — all of which were resisted as unconstitutional, brought affairs to a crisis. The moderate members of the former ministry, and others, "who had, up to this time, supported all the measures of the movement party," such as Louis Batthiányi, Deak, Széchényi and Wesselenyi, "alarmed at the violence of the Diet," says Mr. Stiles, "indignant at the murder of Count Lamberg, and fearful that Kossuth was hurrying

the country into revolution, withdrew altogether from the struggle. They were advocates for reform, they were not yet ready for rebellion. Kossuth, on the other hand, deprived of this conservative portion of his party, was compelled to seek support from, and consequently to fall under the influence of, the more anarchical faction." These sentences furnish the key to the history of all the subsequent disasters of Hungary.*

The two most prominent names henceforth, in the brief and bloody annals of the war, are Kossuth and Arthur Görgey. Kossuth has been compared to Washington, by some people more enthusiastic than wise. It would be impossible to imagine a more infelicitous comparison; scarcely a single point of resemblance between the characters and careers of the two men can be alleged to justify it. Washington passed an unstained youth, in

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* It is worth while to look, for a moment, at the judgment which was formed of Kossuth's conduct by his own colleagues in the ministry. Casimir Batthiányi, his Minister for Foreign Affairs down to the end of the war, writes thus: — "Ambition and a hankering after notoriety, and the suppleness with which he always yielded to the most pressing and least scrupulous, placed him first in contradiction with himself, and then involved him — and it may be said, also, the other ministers — in an inconsistent policy, and finally led him to the self-willed and arbitrary measures which accelerated the fall of the [Louis] Batthiányi ministry. It is unnecessary to charge a man with more failings and follies than he has been guilty of. Kossuth has already enough to answer for before the tribunal of public opinion respecting his political conduct, *which was unquestionably the main cause of the ruin and downfall of his country*."

"I am also of opinion," Batthiányi adds, "that, so far from following a sound policy in wishing, as he does, to remodel the reformed Constitution of 1848, and engraft on it principles of republicanism and unleavened democracy, — *principles which are at variance with our national laws and institutions, as well as with the manners, customs, and genius of the people*, — he would have acted more wisely, and rendered a more essential service to his country, if, after his libe ration from the thraldom of detention, he had appeared before the world in the simple character of a private individual."

The opinion of Prince Esterhazy, a member of the first reform ministry under Louis Batthiányi, is, as might be expected, still more severe. "This result [the Hungarian catastrophe] of the proceedings of which he was at once the moving power and the instrument, the frequent difference between his words and his deeds, and his reluctance to act manfully in case of need, have now, I think, blotted out, among the majority of the nation, the phantasmagoria of his unpropitious influence. To that the last blow was given, when, seeing the end of his ephemeral power fast approaching, he resorted to republican Utopias, more intended, I apprehend, for exportation to foreign markets than for home consumption in our own, as I can hardly think him capable of such an egregious mistake as to indulge the hope of making such a scheme palatable *to a population, whose genius, traditional history, feelings, and habits are so eminently monarchical and aristocratic*."

severe and manly toils, which fitted his mind and body for the endurance of his after life; Kossuth did not. Washington always exercised the sternest self-control; Kossuth did not. Washington was eminently cool, cautious, reflective in council; Kossuth was not. Washington, having had long military experience, was called by the deliberate voice of Congress to the command-in-chief of the armies; Kossuth had no military experience, never led an army, and appeared on the field only to harangue the troops. Washington sustained the drooping fortunes of the country, through a seven years' war, sharing all the hazards of the strife, never despairing of the republic, never shrinking from any duty, constant under every discouragement, patient under every provocation, vigilant, severe, firm, in the end triumphant; approving himself a commander equal to any exigence of war; then more glorious still, a civil ruler equal to every emergency of an inexperienced republic, lending the powerful aid of his wisdom to build a government for the country his valor had redeemed; presiding over the new-formed government with a godlike sagacity and wisdom; retiring to private life, with the modesty of an unpretending citizen, from a station more exalted than the thrones of kings, with a fame more enduring than that of any sage or conqueror, whose thoughts and deeds have most illustrated the history of the human race. What is there in Kossuth's case to match these matchless perfections of our Washington?

But it does not follow, because his admirers have made a tasteless and absurd comparison, that Kossuth is not, in his way, a very distinguished man. We admit the propriety of Mr. Webster's application to him of the epithet "illustrious," the Chevalier Hülsemann to the contrary notwithstanding. Kossuth has undoubtedly shown, from an early period of his life, very extraordinary qualities, and the richest gifts of genius; but not the balanced character of Washington. He is oriental in the cast of his mind; of a poetical and impassioned nature. He understands well how to address his imaginative countrymen, so as to raise an irresistible storm of enthusiasm, for the moment. His highly figurative style of speech — wholly beyond the limits of a sober and cul-

tivated taste, as it is — was well suited to the brilliant and somewhat fantastic Magyar. In his numerous appeals to his people, during the war, he employed, with consummate mastery, all the wordy weapons in his inexhaustible armory. Sometimes, in oriental fashion, he spoke to them as a patriarch speaks to his children; sometimes, he assumed the lofty tone of a Hebrew prophet, and denounced the vengeance of the Lord on the wicked invaders of his country; then he changed his hand, and predicted, like the Psalmist of Israel, the triumph of the hosts of Hungary. The denunciations and predictions were alike fallacious; yet his believing children put their trust in him, as in a being supernaturally endowed. He is a great parliamentary orator, with powers almost unrivalled to agitate the passions and lead the judgment of a legislative assembly. His power over a popular body is marvellous; and the most marvellous part of the whole story is, that his power, great as it was over the multitudes of his countrymen, is hardly diminished by the difficulty of addressing strangers in a foreign language. The triumphs of his eloquence in England and the United States form a memorable epoch in the history of both. Having learned the language, with Shakspeare for a master, and an Austrian dungeon for a school-house, he appears before immense assemblies, and seems to move their hearts at will, by the strange enchantment of his discourse. The effect is aided by the peculiarity of his position, the picturesqueness of his costume, which he adjusts with an eye for artistic effect, by the low and wailing tone of his voice, by the sadness of his sable garb and waving plume, by the Eastern honors of his unshorn countenance, by the burden of sorrow with which his soul is overladen. His voice is not powerful, but it is so clear and neat, that his words reach the farthest limit of the largest and most crowded assembly; and when he rises, in attitudes of studied and pictorial woe, to plead, an exile, the cause of his fallen country, the most obstinate prejudice relents, the sternest logic yields to the magic of the hour.

With all this poetry and art, contrast the austere simplicity of Washington, whose speech was always brief, and to the point; who influenced men by the clearness of

his statements, the severity of his passionless manner, the force of his common sense, and above all, by the weight of his character. He spoke to the reason, seldom to the feelings, never to the passions. He relied on the conviction of the understanding of his hearers, not on the eloquence of his own words.

We think the mistakes of Kossuth, as a statesman, may be traced directly to his eminent qualities as an agitator, the inspiration of which carried him, as well as others, irresistibly away. He was animated by the great ideas, which belong to the philanthropy and higher civilization of the age. His soul kindled with a poetico-religious fervor; he saw visions and he dreamed dreams; and with all this, he showed the most indefatigable industry and considerable administrative ability. Until the trial came, his genius swept all before it; when the crisis arrived, the dream dissolved, the visions fled away, the prophecies were falsified, the great ideas of the "*Solidarity of the nations*," which were to turn the points of Austrian bayonets, to arrest the flight of Austrian cannon-shot, to array England, France, the United States, and Turkey, in fraternal arms, on the side of Hungary, and to extort the acknowledgment of her independence from her oppressor, "like an unsubstantial pageant, faded" into the phantom visitants of an enthusiastic brain.

We believe Kossuth was an honest and patriotic defender of his country; but he was rash and self-deceived. He placed too much reliance on the enthusiasm which his speech and his personal qualities excited; he was no statesman, in the highest meaning of that term. In untroubled times, the loftiest professional and parliamentary fame would have been easily achieved by him; the most brilliant literary distinction was within his easy grasp. But he fell on evil and troubled times. He overrated his strength, and mistook his vocation. He vainly dreamed he could ride the whirlwind and direct the storm; but he became its victim. He fell — *magnis excidit ausis* — and carried his country with him in that stupendous fall, — *dignus imperio nisi imperasset.* The weakness of his character went with him into prison and exile. His surrender of power was as disastrous to him, as his assumption of it was rash; his flight into Turkey was a great

escape, and a greater misfortune. He should have stood to his post, and shared the extremities of fate, as he had the dizzy glories of power. He had spoken grandly; he should have acted bravely. Had he died with the death of his country's liberty, his errors would have been forgotten in the blaze of his patriotic renown, and his name would have been a rallying word forever. No man draws a second chance from the wheel of fortune. Kossuth has had his, and it was a splendid one; his career was open, the race was before him; but he lost the prize, and the book of his destiny is closed forever.

His visit to the United States was an interesting appendix; but it has turned out a sad mistake. Again the weakness of his character blinded him, and changed what might have been a beautiful and soothing expression of heartfelt sympathy for an illustrious and unfortunate exile, into a tumultuous succession of noisy plaudits — the senseless shouts of mobs; the more senseless adorations of weak-minded enthusiasts; and the most senseless extravagance of costly banquets, in the drunken excitement of which, American citizens forgot their country, ministers of the gospel forgot their mission to preach the doctrines of peace, and adopted the thrasonical tone of bullies and braggarts, to the dishonor of their profession, and the deep mortification of every man of sense in the country. From the foolish boast of two hundred thousand bayonets, which saluted Kossuth on his arrival, to the promises of national intervention made by popularity-hunting politicians, seeking to trim their sails to the shifting gales, — the whole exhibition was tasteless and senseless; it excited the wonder of other nations, and, while it made the judicious friends of our country grieve, it exposed us to the inextinguishable laughter of the world.

Kossuth's course was wrong from the beginning. His demeanor on board the ship, sent by the liberality of our government to convey him from a Turkish prison to our shores, was foolish and insulting to the officers; and American citizens have been found base enough to uphold him in it, careless of the honor of the flag which he did his best to compromise. The common sense of the country has decisively pronounced, that the orders of the service are right, and that the officers only did their

duty in enforcing them. Kossuth ventured to criticize and condemn them; but he should have remembered that, without such regulations, no American ship of war could have proceeded to the coast of Asia Minor, on its errand of mercy and charity in his behalf. Kossuth ventured to taunt us with the reproach that we have not yet taken our place among the nations of the earth. How, then, did we rescue him from his long imprisonment, if our influence is so contemptible as he would have the world believe? How is it, that exiles from every kingdom and nation flee hitherward, as to an invincible refuge and sanctuary? How is it, that his own countrymen shelter themselves under the ample folds of the banner of the Union, and find here the peace, the freedom, the happiness they lost at home? How is it, that when famine strikes a nation with death, our ships of war bear the fruits of our abundant harvests to strengthen the exhausted frames of millions, and to bring up departing life to the wretched, starving multitudes? How is it, that our commerce whitens every sea? that our government stands unshaken, when ancient monarchies topple down, and grows stronger as their strength declines? How is it, if we are so little thought of in the political world, that Kossuth expends all the resources of his eloquence to convince the people, that the simple expression of our opinion will hold the mighty Czar of all the Russias in check, when he gathers his myriads to crush the rising spirit of Hungary a second time?

The terms on which Kossuth was released by the Sultan are clearly implied in Mr. Webster's masterly letter to the American Minister on the subject. We quote the paragraph most essential to a correct judgment on the question.

"It is now more than a year since the last Hungarian army surrendered, and the attempt at revolution and the establishment of an independent government, in which they were engaged, was most sternly crushed by the united forces of two of the greatest powers of Europe. Their chief associates are, like themselves, in exile, or have perished on the field, or on the scaffold, or by military execution. Their estates are confiscated, their families dispersed, and every castle, fortress, and city of Hungary is in the possession of the forces of Austria.

"They themselves, by their desire to remove so far from the

scene of their late conflict, declare that they entertain no hope or thought of other similar attempts, and wish only to be permitted to withdraw themselves altogether from all European association, and seek new homes in the vast regions of the United States." *Webster's Works*, Vol. vi. pp. 593, 594.

Mr. Webster used this argument in good faith; it was listened to by the Turkish government in good faith. Had Kossuth's course in the United States been foreseen, Mr. Webster could not have asked for his release, and the Turk would not have granted it, if he had.

Now, in our opinion, Kossuth bound himself, by accepting the release, to observe the conditions, whether expressed or implied, on which the United States obtained it. Good faith to the generous Turk required it. Good faith to this country required it. The obvious consequence of setting these considerations at naught, is that it compromises this country with Turkey, and Turkey with Russia and Austria, and makes it impossible for the government of the United States to interfere in favor of political exiles and prisoners, in similar cases that may arise hereafter. On this ground alone, the agitation of Kossuth in this country is to be condemned.

There is another consideration which greatly strengthens the verdict of disapproval, which all impartial men must bring in, upon this proceeding; the impropriety of the *manner* in which it was conducted. It was obviously the duty of Kossuth — so obviously that the neglect of it strikes one with surprise — to present himself in Washington at the earliest moment after his arrival, and make his acknowledgments to the government to whom he owed his deliverance; and when he found, that, in the opinion of the administration, his demands were inadmissible, and inconsistent with the established policy of the country, he should have bowed to their decision. It was a gross breach of decorum to attempt, as he did, to create a public opinion in his favor, which should overawe the government; it was at the same time a grievous error. And if he acted, as has been said, under the advice of an American politician, whom he met in Europe, he has probably made up his mind by this time, that that gentleman has ends of his own to serve, quite as much as the interests of Hungary. Whatever intoxicated indivi-

duals or frantic multitudes may shout to the contrary, the government of the United States represents the people of the United States; and the project of appealing from the government to the people, is not only impertinent in a foreigner, but idle and foolish. Next to the Austrians, the worst enemies Kossuth has encountered, have been the clamorous blockheads who encouraged him in so Quixotic an enterprise.

Kossuth's assumption of the dignity of Governor of Hungary, as an existing and practical fact, was an absurdity too glaring to be argued against. His assumption of the right to issue bonds, pledging the revenues of Hungary to their future redemption; the appointment of committees to receive and collect funds, on the strength of secret information communicated by him, as to the political movements out of which the redemption of Hungary is to come; the curious programme of operations he gave in his last Faneuil Hall speech, the wild estimates he made of the resources of the party of agitation, and the still wilder description of the present power of Turkey and her readiness to plunge into the battle with Russia, — show at least the enthusiastic temperament of Kossuth, and the easy faith of the amiable gentlemen who lend themselves to his schemes.

His endeavors to set aside the authority of Washington, and to give a new interpretation to the Farewell Address, were again lamentable errors of judgment. The result has been, not to weaken the influence of Washington's great name and divine wisdom, but to freshen, in the minds of the people, a knowledge of his doctrines, and to exalt their reverence for his character. American intervention in European affairs is less likely to occur since Kossuth's visit, than it was before; because the people are better informed on all the bearings of the question, by the discussions to which his presence and his appeals have given rise. The impracticable character of the demand — to say nothing of the want of constitutional power to grant it — is well put by Mr. Stiles. "The absurdity of the intervention of the United States for the independence of Hungary cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by the consideration, that, of the fourteen millions of inhabitants in Hungary, nine millions desire

no more free or better government than that under which they now live." And yet Kossuth still pretends to be the lawful Governor of Hungary! Was Washington, in the course of his whole life, ever guilty of such a folly?

It is not true, that the policy bequeathed by the sacred legacy of Washington is a selfish and isolating one; on the contrary, it is noble, disinterested, and generous. It has saved us from squandering our resources, and endangering the very foundations of our national existence, by the costly interventions in European affairs, which have loaded England with a debt under which the understanding staggers; and it has enabled us to give a home to the houseless exile, shelter to the starving and perishing millions of the old world, and a fair opportunity to all who have the virtue to avail themselves of it, to rise up and assert the dignity of manhood. With a generosity unexampled in the history of the world, we open the gates of citizenship wide to all, of whatever nation, tongue, or religion, who wish to enter; so that the penniless immigrant, after a brief probation, takes his share in the privileges and duties of the republican citizen, and finds, not only the road to wealth as free to him as to his native-born neighbor, but the career to honors and distinctions in the state stretching onward invitingly before him. Is this the isolation of China or Japan, to which Kossuth foolishly compared the Washington policy of not intermeddling in the affairs of other nations? And does this state of things justify Kossuth's advice to the German population in America, to make the political influence bestowed on them by our broad and open-handed principles of humanity, a means of drawing the country into European intervention, and subserving the plans and passions of those from whom their oath of allegiance to the United States should have completely sundered them? No, indeed. The naturalized foreigner, who so interprets his duties to the country of his adoption, is unworthy of the position he has been allowed to take; he is a traitor to the government to which, renouncing all others, he has sworn faith and fealty. The author of such advice, however honestly it may be given, is strangely forgetful, in the blind zeal of his enthusiasm, of the most solemn obligations a human being ever assumes. Kossuth's

speeches and letter to the Germans are among the most reprehensible of his errors; and they who support him in such errors, sacrifice to the idol of the moment, not only their own self-respect, but, so far as their wishes may be crowned with success, the peace and happiness of the country.

Another fallacy put forward by the Hungarians and their friends, almost too transparent to be mentioned, is the statement that their position in this country is like that of Franklin in France, when he negotiated the French alliance and subsidy. The obvious difference is, that we then had an independent government, which we had maintained long enough to show the world that we were capable of standing our ground; while Hungary is completely incorporated into the Austrian Empire, by the same right which the Magyars asserted over Sclavonia and Croatia, — the right of conquest. Another difference is, that France was ready to engage, for her own purposes, in war with England; and we are not ready, for our own or any other purposes, to engage in war with Austria and Russia. And a third point of difference is, that Franklin and Adams were the commissioned representatives of the Continental Congress, acting with the formal authority of a nation; and Kossuth and his train had no authority, no commission, no vestige of an official character, not even the approbation of those who were the most conspicuous of their partners in the strike for independence, and who, like them, are now eating the bitter bread of exile.

But we have run before the story. Let us return, for one moment, to the Hungarian revolutionary war, with which the chief celebrity of Kossuth will be forever identified. We think the position in which Kossuth placed himself, in accepting the post of President of the Committee of Defence, and afterwards revolutionary Governor of Hungary, just the one for which his peculiar genius least of all fitted him. The Hungarians had the right on their side, most unquestionably, to a certain point, as against Austria. The historical, constitutional, and legal arguments were all with them down to the dissolution of the Batthiányi ministry; on these arguments, their position was impregnable. But the revolutionary party erred

in pushing their cause beyond the line of strict legality, and thus adding to the already formidable advantages of their opponents, the seeming support and sanction of the law. In a word, they placed themselves in the attitude of rebels, against their liege sovereign, after the royal disapproval of Count Batthiányi's new ministry, and the attempt of the Emperor to put an end to the hostilities between the Hungarians and the Croatians, under the Ban Jellachich. After these decisive acts of the government, the appointment of a Committee of Defence, in the autumn of 1848, was not only rash, being without the support of the leading members of the liberal party, but was technically an act of open rebellion; and from this time forth, Kossuth is the mainspring of the revolution. On the 6th of November, accordingly, Kossuth and his adherents were declared traitors by an Imperial proclamation, and the penalties of treason denounced against them. An important change in the aspect of the quarrel was brought about by the resignation of the Emperor Ferdinand, and the accession of his nephew, a youth only nineteen years old. Mr. Stiles describes him as follows.

"The Emperor Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke Francis Charles and of the Archduchess Sophia, is a youth of fine and manly appearance, tall and slender in stature, upright and military in his carriage, with an intelligent countenance, but, above all, distinguished for his remarkable self-possession. He is said to be endowed with an excellent mind, and to have acquired such a knowledge of the different languages of his empire as to enable him to address with fluency any portion of his subjects in their own tongue. His character, of course, remains yet to be developed; and if the anecdote related of his conduct, when first apprised of his elevation to the throne, be not a fiction, favorable anticipations may be entertained as respects his future career. When informed that he was emperor, Francis Joseph, sinking back upon the sofa, and covering his face with his hands, exclaimed, *Meine Jugend ist hin!* My youth is over! It was a noble exclamation for a boy of but nineteen years, for it told of duties accepted and of devotion to an arduous task. To be master in the fresh flush of youth of one of the greatest empires of the world, and to think first of the sacrifices which duty imposes rather than of the splendor which the position confers, exhibits an appreciation of the task as rarely to be met with, as it is indispensable to success in those that are born to rule." Vol. ii. pp. 151, 152.

The Schwartzenberg cabinet resolved to seize this opportunity to annihilate the Hungarian constitution, and with it the last vestiges of the independence of Hungary. They were incapable of the nobler and more generous policy, which the informal attempt of Mr. Stiles, in compliance with the request of Kossuth, to effect a reconciliation, gave them an opportunity of adopting. And so the Austrian government, and the youthful monarch, let pass one of those heaven-sent chances of doing a deed of immortal beneficence, which occur to rulers but too seldom in the ordinary course of human affairs. They plunged into the conflict with some show of legality on their side, it is true; but with a pedantic adherence to the letter of the law, they determined to prosecute it to the bloody end. Shame that the reign of the brilliant young Emperor should be inaugurated in the slaughter of his bravest and noblest, even if erring subjects! It was a sad and threatening omen for the future. He has reason to pray God to avert it from his head.

We cannot follow the scenes of the terrible drama that now opened, on the fields of Hungary. The details are ably given by Mr. Stiles, and many of them are of thrilling interest. But the Hungarians were doomed from the beginning. With two thirds of the Hungarian nation arrayed in fierce hostility against them, with some of the most important classes of the Magyars themselves looking upon the conflict with doubt, disapprobation, or despair, with the powerful sentiment of loyalty to the Austrian crown still lingering in the breasts of many of the best officers, no temporary successes could do more than postpone, for a brief moment, her swift destruction. On the one side, the promulgation of a constitution for the empire in March, 1849, and on the other, the declaration of Hungarian Independence on the 14th of the following April, both measures of the extremest violence, cutting off all hope of reconciliation, and removing all disposition for it on either side, placed the contending parties in the attitude of war to the death. Certainly, the Emperor, after this act, could no longer claim to be king of Hungary according to the constitution; for the constitution, by which he was bound to govern Hungary, was to be wholly displaced by the new one. Certainly,

the revolutionists could not claim to stand on the constitution; for they, too, had long since been laboring to effect its overthrow, and finished their work by the banishment of the House of Hapsburg, and the tumultuary appointment of Kossuth as Governor, with the power of selecting a cabinet at his own will. Both parties had thrown the constitution to the winds, and both had alike appealed to the sharp arbitrament of the sword.

The declaration of independence was a rash act, productive of the most lamentable consequences. It was proposed by Kossuth in the Diet, on the 13th of April, and having been debated, was finally carried, not by the deliberate votes of all the members, but by less than a quorum, amidst a storm of plaudits from the crowd in the galleries of the Calvinistic church, in Debreczin, to which Kossuth, followed by his adherents, had adjourned. In the preliminary debate of the 13th, Kovacs, one of the leaders of the band, significantly said, "Here we are in possession of only the half of the kingdom of Hungary, and you are sending a challenge to all the monarchs of Europe. Buda, the capital, is still in the hands of the imperialists; and by attacking the monarchical principle, you procure for Austria the sympathy of all crowned heads, and peril all that we have already gained." One of the opposition, being asked why his party did not protest against this, replied, "Because, first of all, no man was such a fool as to expose himself to be murdered by the mob. Besides, in my eyes, the meeting had not a legal character."

We cannot dwell longer on these interesting events. The warning of Kovacs was well founded. The victories gained by the Hungarians in the first campaign, brilliant as they were, gave no security to Hungary. The sympathy of the crowned heads for Austria brought the Czar and his irresistible armies upon the scene. England, France, and Turkey did not fulfil the dream of Kossuth; and the interference of Russia was not judged, by those powers, a violation of the law of nations. The government of the United States sent an agent to watch the course of events, with the view of acknowledging the independence of Hungary as soon as she showed herself capable of maintaining a national existence. But he had

scarcely time to commence his inquiries, before the Hungarian generals had laid down their arms, and Kossuth had fled over the Turkish frontier. And yet Kossuth had the face to accuse the United States of being accessory to the ruin of Hungary, by not acknowledging her independence, — an independence that never for a single moment existed; and if the Chevalier Hülsemann is to be credited, Mr. Dudley Mann would have been hanged as a spy, if the Austrian government had had the least notion of what was the object of his mission, and could have laid their hands on him. *From the declaration of independence to the surrender of Vilagos was exactly four months.*

The history of the last-named event, and the character of General Görgey, the principal actor in the closing scenes of the war, have been the subjects of vehement dispute. Görgey has very generally been pronounced a traitor to his country. A learned committee, of the last Massachusetts Senate, very unceremoniously handed him over to the execrations of posterity; and the Senate accepted the report, that his "name will be gibbeted by history between those of Iscariot [it should have been Judas Iscariot] and Arnold."

Mr. Stiles, in a more impartial spirit, sums up the considerations for and against him. Among the latter, the strongest was the fact that he had kept silent two years, under the obloquy and execrations with which his name had been loaded. Since Mr. Stiles's book appeared, General Görgey has published a full account of his course in the Hungarian war. It is not written in the most amiable temper towards those who have vindicated themselves by slandering him. Under the circumstances, and considering the enormous outrages to which his reputation has been subjected, while he has remained helpless under the supervision of the Austrian police, some bitterness of feeling and acerbity of expression are quite intelligible and pardonable. As the fog begins to clear away from that tragic catastrophe, enough is seen to prove conclusively, that there is not a shadow of evidence that Görgey was guilty of the crimes charged against him. On the contrary, he was not only the ablest man the revolution produced, and foresaw the fatal consequences of Kossuth's

proceedings, but he warned him of them. He was a man of action, and had no respect for the man of phrases;—and here he erred. But he was right in his general estimate of Kossuth's dangerous influence, and the utterly erroneous calculations on which his policy was built. He and the army generally, except Kossuth's raw recruits, disapproved of the declaration of independence, and clearly foreboded the disastrous end to which it was leading them. But most of the military glory gained by the Hungarians was owing to his brilliant genius. He kept the army in an efficient state, as long as that was possible; and when longer resistance was unavailing, the supreme power was placed in his hands, with a distinct understanding between Kossuth and himself, that he was to lay down his arms to the Russian general. Kossuth fled, and Görgey remained to bear the brunt of accumulating horrors that impended over him. His letter to General Rudiger breathes a magnanimous spirit; offering himself as a victim, but imploring the General to spare his companions in arms. His officers, who unanimously approved of the surrender, by a vote passed at a council of war from which Görgey was absent, were inspired by an equal magnanimity of resolution, and consummated the act of pacification with a full conviction that their lives would be forfeited to the vengeance of the conqueror. By a cruel clemency, Görgey was spared, while the military executions, perpetrated by Haynau, the blood-stained pedant of the military code, shocked the world by their atrocities, and made the name of the hoary murderer a by-word of infamy to the end of time.

Görgey furnishes the only rational explanation of the dictatorship and the surrender. It is the only view of the event, consistent with its antecedents and consequents, and with the conduct of Kossuth; and it is a remarkable fact, that, while the Kossuth party in Europe and this country have been permitted to blacken the name of Görgey with unmeasured vituperation, Kossuth himself has but rarely and feebly sanctioned these accusations by his own authority.

ART. VII. *A Memorial of* REV. JOHN SNELLING POPKIN, D. D., *late Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University.* Edited by CORNELIUS C. FELTON. his Successor in Office. "*Μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν.*" Cambridge: John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1852. 16mo. pp. lxxxviii & 392.

IN literature, there are by-ways as well as high-ways, and he, whose feet do not range willingly over the former as well as the latter, is but a cold lover of books and reading. We believe it is Warton who has somewhere recorded, that, if he wished to ascertain whether a young man had a natural and genuine love of poetry, he would put Milton's "Lycidas" into his hands. In like manner, we would try whether a person had a strong taste for literature by applying the test of such a book as Nichols's Literary Anecdotes — that mild constellation of lights of "pretty considerable magnitude" — that kindly record of names, for the most part, more respectable than eminent, and yet deserving of remembrance. The book before us, in which Professor Felton has gathered up the broken fragments of the life and works of his predecessor in office, is one of those from which the modest and laborious scholar, who shall hereafter do for American literature in this century what Nichols did for English literature in the last, will draw his materials. It is the record of a man of merit and learning, who fell short of the distinction to which his abilities and industry seemed fairly to entitle him, from the black drops of melancholy, shyness, and self-distrust which were mingled with the currents of his blood. Of success, as that word is commonly understood, he had but little; and indeed, when we compare the brilliant hopes which seem to have been awakened by the college career of Dr. Popkin, with the modest obscurity in which his declining years were past, his life must be pronounced to have been in some sort a failure. But there is something at once touching and elevating in the dignity and serenity with which the lot appointed unto him was borne. If there were the sense of disappointment and short-coming to add its shadow to the loneliness of his age, it was never proclaimed by bitterness or querulousness. If he

failed of distinction, he at least attained peace. He was free from the tyranny of that restless ambition, which makes the prizes of success worthless the moment they are grasped. And who shall say that his was not the better part? Who shall say that the flower, heart's-ease, which we stoop to find, is not well worth the laurel which we climb to grasp?

Nothing can be more genial, graceful, and appropriate than the biography which Professor Felton has prefixed to this volume. It tells us all that we want to know, and no more. It brings out the individual traits of a shy and eccentric scholar, with distinctness and yet with tenderness. The style, we need hardly say, is ripe, flowing, and mellow, with here and there a touch of delicate and cordial humor. It may be fairly pronounced to have been one of the felicities of Dr. Popkin's life, that he found such a biographer to record it. The only exception that we can take to the sketch is, that it falls somewhat into the almost universal habit of overstating the claims and merits of its subject. We should hardly call Dr. Popkin "an admirable classical scholar," even "after the old fashion;" nor can we think that he had "the abilities of a great man." But we should probably differ with Professor Felton less in his estimate of Dr. Popkin's learning and talents, than in the force of the language he uses to characterize them.

Lives so uneventful as that of Dr. Popkin are rare any where, and very rare in our country. He was a settled clergyman in Boston and in Newbury, from his twenty-eighth to his forty-fourth year; then a Professor in Cambridge till his sixty-second year; and for the remainder of his life, which was protracted to nearly eighty-one years, a secluded scholar, living in his study and conversing almost exclusively with books. He rather avoided than sought opportunities for public display, and his morbid self-distrust led him to decline many duties and responsibilities which inferior men were found competent to discharge. And as his outward life was barren of incidents, so his inner life was not marked by those restless excitements and agitations to which men of more fervid temperament are exposed. Books, and the conscientious performance of his modest duties, rounded the circle of every

day. He never depended much upon the sympathy and companionship of others, and during the latter half of his life, his habits were of almost monastic seclusion. He was never married, — a piece of abstinence rare among the clergymen of New England — nor is it certain that his heart was ever disturbed by the intrusion of love. In our time, there ran a rumor among the students — to which we see Professor Felton has alluded — that he had met with a disappointment early in life, and that a single flower of romantic memory was still cherished in his cloistered heart; and whether the report were true or not, it added to the interest which his character and habits awakened among his pupils.

Of the sixteen or seventeen classes who sat under the instruction of Dr. Popkin, there was not a single member who did not feel an interest in him, and who would not have esteemed it a privilege to serve him. There was something marked and individual about him, which took hold of a youthful fancy, and strongly stamped his image upon a youthful memory. Traditionary stories of him, in great number, were handed down from class to class; and there was a certain flutter of expectation awakened before coming into his presence. His appearance and manners were peculiar, and betrayed the seclusion of his life. His movements were awkward, and his looks abstracted. There was a cast-iron gravity in his face, which was rarely broken by a smile, though the general expression was not harsh or repulsive. The portrait, prefixed to this volume, is rather more grim and austere than the original, as we remember it. He had an abrupt, hurried, nervous way of speaking, or rather of ejaculating his words, in a tone of monotonous roughness which sounded something like the notes of a bassoon. He had also some awkward personal tricks — such as a habit of suddenly seizing one of his legs, and rubbing it with great energy, as if it were a duty he had too long neglected, and of sucking the air through the corners of his mouth; — besides some clumsy movements of his arms and shoulders, which were the more conspicuous, as he was a man of tall and large frame.

These peculiarities often awakened a smile in the recitation-room at the good man's expense, and caused his

name to be sometimes lightly taken upon the lips of the students; but, at heart, there was a sincere feeling of respect for him. This respect rested upon a perception rather of his moral than his intellectual qualities, and especially of his sincerity and uprightness. A truer man never lived. It was equally impossible for him to conceal what he thought, and to speak what he did not think. In Mad. de Genlis's temple of truth, his conversation would have remained unchanged. Neither fear nor favor could have induced him to swerve from the strictest standard of verbal integrity. The young men who approached him were conscious of an influence which they could not analyze, and which gave something of dignity to his oddities and eccentricities. They felt that a virtue went out from the presence of this shy, uncouth, reserved, but brave-hearted, and true-hearted man.

His reputation for scholarship was the growth of a period when there was "little Latin and less Greek" in the community, and was, to say the least, quite as high as it deserved to be. He was certainly a respectable scholar, and his range of reading in Greek was quite extensive. He understood the osteology of the language well, and with good opportunities and exact training in early life, would have been an excellent philologer. But he did not seem to move freely in any higher region than that of verbal scholarship, and his own mind was not Greek enough in its mould to feel and interpret all the power and beauty of its literature. He was content to keep the strings of that fine harp in tune, and left to more skilful, or at least, bolder hands, the task of waking its slumbering music. He had one trait of a true scholar, — a high standard and a keen sense of how far he fell short of it. No one would have set so low an estimate upon his attainments as he himself. No one was disposed to scan with severity the claims of a scholar who had so little pretension and so much self-distrust.

Nor can we, in candor, yield him the praise of having been a good teacher. He was exact and conscientious, and perfectly competent to teach the elements; but he never seemed to forget that he was not teaching the elements. With the young men who read Sophocles, there was the same verbal drilling that they had experienced in

the first elementary book they had studied. Nor had he those natural endowments of mind and character which qualified him to be a successful teacher. His manner was not cordial or magnetic. His reserve and self-distrust placed a barrier between him and his pupils. He was naturally sensitive, and, like most men who have lived in seclusion and had no children of their own, he gave to the thoughtless petulance of youth a significance which it did not deserve. His mind was not flowing or diffusive, but concentrated and brooding. His speech was marked by a laconic and impatient brevity, and he seemed to have a truly Spartan contempt for much talking. Of that fervid enthusiasm, which melts the cold and quickens the torpid, he had nothing.

The selections from Dr. Popkin's writings are made with good taste, and no one will say that they are too long or too numerous. His style is manly, vigorous, and unpretending, animated with here and there an odd or quaint expression, which will bring the writer vividly before his old pupils. A vein of good sense runs through his writings, and he holds his subject with a strong grasp. His earnestness and sincerity of feeling inspire at times a tone which is almost eloquent. We confess that our estimate of Dr. Popkin's abilities has been raised by these writings.

The contents of the volume are three lectures on Liberal Education, originally published in 1836, some selections from lectures on Greek literature, and a few passages from sermons, published and unpublished. From the second lecture on liberal education, we extract a characteristic passage on the study of the ancient languages.

"The Greek and Latin languages have always been esteemed by the learned as peculiarly adapted to instruct us in the nature and power of language and expression; and they contain works which sustain the most powerful and finished expression, and invite and reward the attention of the studious by their intrinsic excellence. The Greek is acknowledged to be the most philosophical and elegant language known in the world. The Latin strikes my ear and my mind as the most smooth in its sounds, and grave and stately in its diction, and suitable to the ruling nation of the world. But the Greek appears at once the most forcible and flexible, the most copious and expressive, adapted to every subject, to the vehement eloquence of freedom, to the copious flow of history, to

the polished elegance of poetry, and to the deep and acute discussions of philosophy. It was the language of a people of animated genius, of restless activity and fervent energy; who, when they were not engaged in arms or the forum, or thronging the scenes of rival strength and skill, repaired to the walks and the conversations of philosophy, or gave themselves up with delight to the entertainments of wit and the Muses. The language itself is a philosophical study, for its artful structure and polished composition. It is a subject of admiration, and an inquiry of difficult solution, how this people had formed a language so copious and various, rich and expressive, so ingeniously constructed, and so easily and gracefully flowing into all the forms and powers of verse, before the age of Homer, and before the age which Homer had made illustrious.

"But the works which signalize these languages are the objects which are to be proposed as the highest recommendation. These have always held the first rank in poetry and oratory, and in all the strength and beauty of secular writings, in the estimation of those who may be deemed competent judges, and of those who are entitled to the best credit of being impartial. It is not merely the solitary student in his closet, pleased with private studies, and proud of peculiar knowledge, who commends them. Men of letters who are also men of business, engaged in the business of the state, or of the world, who have been trained in these and other pursuits, and can judge of their value and their influence, — these patronize and uphold them, and recommend them as the groundwork of the higher systems of education. They have especially been considered and maintained as the most suitable introduction. This study is particularly adapted to the season of youth, before the mind is matured to grasp the propositions and arguments of science. It affords an improving and invigorating exercise, requiring exertion, yet not overtasking the faculties. It promotes habits of close attention, accurate investigation, and just discrimination. But it is not the exercise and discipline of the mind alone, which is to be considered as the beneficial result of this study. It produces an habitual knowledge of the principles of language in its most exquisite forms and richest variety, of the precise meaning of words, of the structure and force of sentences, of the distinction of things and the shades of difference, of the composition of discourse both free and measured, of the grace and power of ornament, and of the harmony of modulation. It does more; it opens an acquaintance with the knowledge, the sentiments, the expressions, the productions, the history, and the politics of those ancient nations, who were most famous in their time, and in all succeeding times, and who had attained to a highly cultivated state of understanding, of public address, and of

social and literary communication. Vast advances have been made in Science by the studies and discoveries of later ages. But the faculties which pertain to the social nature and relations of man appear to come sooner to maturity; and perhaps sooner to decay, probably by the process of moral and literary corruption. Our Indian eloquence is often celebrated. And the Book of Job is probably the oldest book in the world, and the grandest in its conceptions and expressions; excepting some which are contained in the same sacred volume." pp. 41 – 45.

In his lectures on Greek literature, he treats of the Homeric poems at considerable length, and in a plain, earnest manner, which, though not resembling the tone of modern composition, nor quite coming up to the standard of modern criticism, is not without interest. After discussing the principal characters in the Iliad, he goes on to say: —

"The work grows on my hands, or rises and spreads before my eyes, like a magical palace. The whole and every part is a study. Sentiments abound, which are taken as texts and maxims. The language is flowing, smooth, clear, and harmonious, adapted to the subject, yet sustained and elevated, often rising to grandeur, and sometimes dissolving in tenderness, yet without any sickly affectation or inflated exaggeration. The descriptions are frequent, often beautiful, and often sublime. The speeches are exactly characteristic, and almost continual; for the form of the poem is nearly dramatical. If the warriors stop to make speeches in the midst of the battle, this I suppose is more suitable to the poem than to the action described. It varies the monotonous din of arms. And if there is more of this din and danger than suits our civil ears, we must yield the privilege to the time and to the people, to whom it was the noblest song and the grandest music.

"The visit of Hector to his mother and wife in the sixth book is a most touching scene of domestic affection and patriotic devotion. I think the poet sent him from the battle to the city purposely to produce this scene, and to interest us the more in his future struggles, and honor, and fall. The embassy to Achilles in the ninth book is another scene of peculiar power and interest. There is the artful, insinuating address of Ulysses; and the keen, vehement, and indignant eloquence of Achilles, displaying a depth, and strength, and compass of thought and feeling, and a keenness of invective and irony, which is equal at least, to the highest effort of Demosthenes. And then the long address of the aged Phœnix, his foster-father, recounting the misfortunes of his youth, and his attentions on the youth of his foster-son, and then telling

a long, winding, perplexed story of Meleager, with sentence involved in sentence, and parenthesis in parenthesis, all this appears to me a most studied and finished piece of imitation. And finally, the abrupt conclusion of Ajax, 'Let us go, for there is no end to all this talk,' is the sentence of one who would rather fight than talk, and would rather sleep than do either; and yet he briefly exhibits a rude dignity, a strong argument, and a manly resolution.

"But the poet, having shown his power throughout the work, has collected and exerted all his strength in the conclusion. This is described in the words which we read in Longinus. 'You see,' says he, 'that, the earth being broken up from the foundation, and Tartarus laid open, and the world receiving a subversion and disruption, all things together, Heaven and Hades, mortals and immortals, are engaged together in the contest and peril of this battle. But,' he adds, 'these things, if they are not understood as an allegory, are unworthy of the gods, and not preserving propriety or decorum; for he has made gods of the men, and men of the gods.' Herodotus says, that Homer and Hesiod formed the Grecian theology. I rather think that Homer took the popular theology as he found it, which was not too exalted and refined for his purpose; that he probably modified it to his purpose; and introduced it into his poem, to give it amplitude and elevation. The Iliad was not designed for historical truth, but as a work of imagination. It may be interpreted in an allegorical sense; but I think it was agreeable to public opinion, to consider the gods as acting in the manner of men, and in the concerns of men, though with vast superiority of power. We must place a picture in the proper light, and take a right point of view, that we may see it in its perfection. And we should consider the poem in its proper time and circumstances, that we may see the art and power of the poet." pp. 117 – 119.

In his lecture on the Lyric Poets, he thus speaks of Pindar and the form of poetry in which he excelled.

"The Odes, as we call them, have the title of *Εἶδος*, a Form, or Species, of which name I know not the reason, unless it be a word of modest pretension. The Pastorals of Theocritus are named *Εἰδύλλια*, Little Forms or Species. The victors in the games were held in high honor; they were received with great ceremony, distinguished with peculiar privileges, and thought worthy of signal celebration. But the poet soon passes from his hero to other heroes or the gods, or to remarkable passages of mythology or history. Thus he avoids the monotony of similar characters and exercises, and at the same time he connects them with subjects of dignity or celebrity. The original subjects might have been very untractable, having nothing to recommend

but bodily strength or skill. But by introducing higher subjects he reflects an honor upon them, which they could not sustain by their own splendor.

"The transitions appear sudden and rapid; but they are not utterly disjointed. They are the associations of a rapid and fervid mind. The strokes of his lyre he often calls arrows and darts, which may express the swift glances and flights of the imagination. Indeed, the lyric tone of thought and expression is studiously removed from and raised above the colloquial and prosaic language. Rare words and phrases and combinations are sought out; and the poet impresses by quick and living sentiment rather than by slow and formal reasoning. It is so in modern song; but it is more so in the ancient. The hearers were accustomed to this high-wrought style, and it was within the limit of their habits, and associations, and quick perception. But to us at first it appears hard in construction, and difficult of interpretation, till it has become familiar by frequent perusal. But those to whom it was familiar and native expected in their festivals something elevated above their daily business and conversation. The lyric style is more raised, condensed, and pointed than the copious, flowing epic, or the urgent iambic of the drama. The chorus of the drama is commonly lyrical, and often rises in odes of lofty or fervent sentiment.

"But though the diction of Pindar is thus raised above the common language, his sense is not so remote from common sense. I see nothing delirious or extravagant in it. On the contrary, it is often very good, and sound, and strong sense. In a few words he brings out a great thought, which may be expanded over pages. In a concise sentence he expresses a sentiment, which may stand as a principle and rule of life and action." pp. 204–206.

The subject of dramatic literature is very briefly treated, but the remarks upon it are discriminating and just. The great masters are thus sketched.

"Æschylus flourished in the times of the Persian wars (Ol. 71, B. C. 460,) and was a soldier of Liberty, and was present in her great battles. His brother Ameinias obtained the first prize of valor; and when Æschylus was accused for impiety in his tragedies, this brother defended him by virtue of his own merit, and by showing his wounds.

"This author, I think, may be fairly esteemed the father of tragedy, which received not only its form, but its spirit and character, from his genius; which was grave, and serious, and ardent, and sublime. The times also were in the highest degree conducive to such exercises and productions; for they were an

awful and tremendous struggle for liberty and for life; which was successful beyond all calculation. The minds of men were wrought up to the highest energy and the most daring conceptions. We may believe that they could no longer descend to the ludicrous sports of the old exhibitions. The Tragic Muse was born, like her patron, in lightning and thunder. And it is said that her author lived like her patron, and wrote under his inspiration. He certainly wrote with great ardor, and in a lofty style of language, — lofty to excess, and sometimes to extravagance, — yet not empty sound, but full of thought and energy. This high-wrought expression, doubtless, flowed from the fervor and fulness of his own mind; but it appears also to have been excited and sustained by the spirit and tenor of the lyric and dithyrambic composition. It does not strike me as the first exercise of an art newly invented, or as the first natural effort of a mind laboring without example to express itself with power and dignity. The work appears rather to be raised on previous preparations, and to rise above them to higher degrees of invention, without yet being subdued by a sound and correct judgment. We should suppose that the forms and use of the words, and the structure of the sentences, were as remote as possible from the common language of men, unless that people always spoke in studied and labored diction and hyperbole. It remained for Sophocles to temper the elevated dramatic strain with a just discernment, and correct judgment of propriety. It is said that, the young poet winning the prize from his senior, the veteran retired to Sicily, and ended his life there. Seven tragedies remain, and fragments, and the titles of as many as a hundred others." pp. 217 – 218.

"Sophocles is considered as having carried the ancient tragedy to its highest perfection. This improvement was the effect of his own genius and judgment, promoted, perhaps, by the observations of his literary companions. While they rendered all justice to the power of Æschylus, they might perceive wherein his works were defective, and wherein his schemes were capable of improvement. But it requires genius to execute what the judgment perceives and approves. And both these powers, in just proportion, appear to have constituted the mind of Sophocles.

"His language is justly tempered with discretion, yet poetical and elevated, and adorned with the forms and colors of imagination. He appears to be the best judge of decorum, or propriety, of that which is most suitable to the subject, the occasion, and the character. He gives to his persons their distinctive character and expression. He produces his sentiments in due proportion, without overloading his action with impertinent or un-

necessary reflections. Indeed, he expresses his sentiments rather in the course of the action and the dialogue than in formal and proverbial sentences.

"He may be peculiarly called the poet of action. He makes the μῦθος, the story, or action, the principal thing, which he pursues with constancy and without deviation. He has a precise plan and end in view, to which he makes all the parts and incidents and circumstances conducive. He has made his persons more numerous, and his combinations more complex and artificial, and his scene more stirring and active, than his antecessor; and though his language is more temperate, I know not that it is less significant. Yet Æschylus was always held in high esteem for the strength and boldness of his conceptions and expressions." pp. 222 – 224.

"Euripides is considered as inferior to Sophocles in the plan and in the style of his compositions. His plan is judged to be commonly not so well ordered, nor so uniformly directed to the object and the end. His style also is thought to be not so purely dramatic and poetical, but rather rhetorical, philosophical, and even declamatory; to be overcharged with moral sentiments, and extraneous and even unnecessary matter. Just sentiments and philosophy are very good in their place; and their place may be found in good tragedy. But they should not be drawn and pressed in to excess, and to satiety; κόρος, as the ancients express superabundance. Sophocles appears more successful in producing his sentiments and philosophy in the progress of the action, and in the development of the characters and the incidents. Euripides appears sometimes to arrest the action, in order to make a long display of sentimental speculations.

"Yet, with these exceptions and abatements, or comparisons, Euripides still holds a high place in dramatic estimation. He was held in great esteem by his countrymen, not only at home but abroad, in their various settlements; and not only in the Attic, but also in the Doric connection: insomuch, that the Athenian captives in Sicily, who were treated with the severity of vengeance for their unprovoked invasion, could purchase their liberty by repeating from memory a few of the verses of Euripides. Yet he had at home a severe satirist and persecutor in Aristophanes; who studiously seizes every occasion to hold him up to ridicule and derision. He parodies and travesties his verses; and in two comedies he makes him the burden of the song, or the football of the play, The Frogs, and The Worshippers of Ceres. He indeed has treated Socrates with as little ceremony, in the comedy of The Clouds; and appears to make no distinction between the captious sophists and the sober philo-

sophers. In short, he spares no one, who offers him an occasion of displaying his wit and humor; and he makes himself as free with the rulers, by name, or with the divinities, as with the humblest citizen, or servant, or parasite. His wit and Atticism are unrivalled; but his liberty, or license, and indecency, are equally unbounded. The boldness of the ancient comedy provoked a public prohibition; and it became necessary to use fictitious names, and to treat of common life and manners. Of this moral and sentimental strain Euripides is supposed to have afforded the most instructive example; so that his insulted Muse finally prevailed over her keen and stinging, gad-fly adversary.

"It was observed in old times, that Euripides painted mankind as they are, and Sophocles painted them as they ought to be; which is translated into modern criticism, that Sophocles studied the ideal, and Euripides the real character. This reality fitted him to be an example to the moral comedy; or the comedy of real and common life, and moral sentiment and character." pp. 229 – 231.

His summary of the whole subject of Greek tragedy is an amusing specimen of his homely way of treating a theme too apt to lead to fine writing, and of his odd fashion of blurting out his opinions.

"Concerning the Greek tragedies in general, I must confess that the story is often too tragical, too atrocious, and horrible, for my taste; too opposite to the feelings of human nature, and the principles of human reason. I must refer them to the times in which they were composed, or in which they were supposed to have been transacted. I find some relief in supposing that they were mostly poetical creations, and never, in so high a degree of violence, actual perpetrations. Of this distinction I have seen many evidences. I find my gratification in the parts, the passages, and the verses, rather than in the whole and in the conclusion; in the filling, as we may say, rather than in the warp of the web of fate. The idea of a fixed, irrational, irresistible fate, driving men on to inevitable crimes and horrors, against their resolute will and desperate resistance, to me is dreadful, and atheistical; but perhaps it did not appear so to the authors, who studied only to produce a strong character and a powerful impression. But the particular sentiments, in the progress of the work, are often favorable to virtue. And as works of art and power, the dramatic writings are counted among the chief works of Grecian genius. I would consider them as poems to be read, rather than as scenes to be acted. But there must be something awful or distressful to constitute a tragedy. Well, then, let it be terror or pity, rather than horror and disgust.

"I am probably singular, but I never loved to be horribly delighted. I love to see every thing, everybody, and every soul, right, and good, and happy, doing well, and ending well. But in this case, it may be said, we should have no tragedies, and scarcely any history; no trials of principle, and few exercises of virtue. But in fact, there is no danger of this sterility in the world. And since we are as we are, it is best that we should know the truth; and that it should be set before us in the most strong and striking colors, to deter us from vice, and excite us to virtue. That is true, if it be true. But the same instrument which may be the minister of virtue may also be the pander of vice. As the conclusion of the whole matter, I must say that I consider the theatre as the bane of Harvard College." pp. 233–234.

From the sermon on the death of Washington we copy an interesting passage.

"Never did more of a nation's happiness depend upon one man; never was more effected by one, than by that great and beloved man, of whose death the past week brought us the sorrowful tidings. He was truly our Joshua; for he answered all the meaning of the name. He was, under the Almighty, the savior of his country. Like him, he gave early indications of prowess, zeal, and prudence in the service of his people. Like him, he led our armies against a nation greater and mightier than we, a nation at whom the powers of the earth trembled; he led us to victory and peace, and to the quiet possession of a fruitful land in the enjoyment of sovereignty and independence. Under his auspices we became settled under a government and laws. His example and authority have highly recommended to our attention the fear and service of God; and if he has not had the same power to enforce them upon us, that Joshua had under the immediate government of God; yet, so far as the powers committed to him extended, he has strictly observed and maintained those principles of righteousness which are essential parts of the law of God, and which are necessary and generally effectual to preserve internal order and external peace.

"Our chief has left his abode in the midst of his brethren, called, as we trust, by his guardian God, to a more exalted sphere of action and enjoyment. We follow his rising spirit with mingled grief and consolation. We resign him with tears, but we resign him with hope, to his Almighty Father, who has ever been his friend and shield on earth, and will be his exceeding great reward, and his portion for ever. It is a melancholy pleasure to trace the actions, and to view the tokens, which are left to us, of dear, departed, respected friends. Though the deeds and the virtues of

our patriot are alive in every breast, though all can recount his history from their grateful memories, yet love, gratitude, and admiration seek their solace in dwelling upon the affecting and glorious theme.

"Behold him in his first essays to serve and defend his country. Here his early prudence and skill saved the remnant of an army, whose haughty commander despised the cautions of his sagacity. Here he gave a presage of that masterly address, by which he was destined to save his country from a superior foe, with a little band of her almost deserted heroes. When he was called by her distressful voice to this arduous and dismaying post of danger, he took it with equal promptitude and modesty. Diffident of his own abilities, he undauntedly hazarded the result of a contest extremely dubious, or rather where cool reason would expect a defeat. He exposed himself as the first victim to despotic vengeance. He devoted his life with patriotic zeal to the righteous cause of his country, relying upon that God who loves and protects the righteous. This reliance he ever strikingly manifested. A Divine Providence illumined all, even the darkest of his communications; we believe it reigned in his heart, and we know that it guided and blessed all his measures. Uniting the almost incompatible qualities of prudence and decision, of sagacity in counsel and energy in action, with a small army, ill appointed, ill fed, and ill clothed, he baffled his numerous, insulting foes, he besieged them in a strong fortress with inferior numbers, and while they dreamt of fierce assaults and the thunders of war, he darts across the continent with the swiftness of an eagle, and seizes a prey sufficiently strong to break from the grasp of any other assailant. Nothing but his powers could have sustained the war, under every embarrassment and deficiency. Nothing but the esteem, veneration, and confidence which his character commanded, could have brought together the crumbling fragments of a battered army, or the sinking divisions of a quaking continent.

"God had adapted and prepared his talents for this unequal struggle. Talents so great, and so singularly united, scarcely appear in the extent of the world, or the records of time. He who had appointed him to this contest gave him glorious success, gave him to triumph in the freedom of his country, not only as the effect of the powers with which he had endued him, but, we may rationally believe, as the reward of his sublime virtues, his pure patriotism, his sincere religion.

"He proved the uprightness of his heart, the purity of his zeal, his disinterested love of his country, by his eagerness to renounce the splendor of command, the ways of ambition, and to seek, in the bosom of his family, in the mansion of peace, a repose for his

mind fatigued with incessant energies, and the tranquil participation of the blessing which he had vindicated by his sword. Again he quits his loved retirement, again he obeys his suffering country's voice, to secure by laws those blessings which he had purchased by arms. Again he relinquishes his pleasure, and assumes the unsought labor of government, elevated by the affections of his people to a station which kings may envy, but Washington only endures.

"If he was great in conducting war, he was greater in preserving peace. Adequate to every office to which he is called, to every duty which human nature can perform, he rises equally with his station; every step augments that honor which was already deemed complete. And when he descends from the chair of rule, and returns to the pleasant vale of life which at our desire he had forsaken, he still rises in our admiration. Though we follow him to his retreat with regret, yet we venerate the man who can resign with satisfaction the highest object of ambition. In the storms of nations, he is the lightning; in peace, he presides as the sun, diffusing everywhere his animating beams; in private life, his influence descends as the rain, and distils as the dew, to fertilize the rejoicing fields." pp. 245–250.

In the sermon on the memory of the righteous, there are a few sentiments upon Washington, which are vigorous and eloquent.

"Let us remember his unconquerable love of his country, to whose welfare he freely sacrificed all his happiness; for whose honor he repeatedly hazarded his reputation; in whose danger he braved the sword of the mighty, and the more fearful poniard of slander; in whose service he expended all his years of vigor, years in which events of vast magnitude were his daily occupations. Yet nothing abated nor diverted the ardor of his patriotism; and he died while his wounded country was leaning on his arm. Remember his inflexible regard to truth and duty, which subdued all passion, which quelled all fears when the boldest hearts would have quaked; which fixed him immovably to the principles of right and the dictates of conscience, and forbade the suspicion of an improper motive. Remember his piety, which constantly referred to the Almighty all his success, and reposed on him all his hopes and the hopes of his country, which has placed upon this foundation all the virtue and happiness of a people. Remember his profound wisdom, unbiased by any prejudice, which seemed to seize the truth by a native affinity, and to display it with a force of conviction which superseded all argument. Remember his services to his country, than which never were greater performed, nor more worthy of every expression of

gratitude. I cannot call all his merits to remembrance; but your own minds do not, I trust require this office. You will read them often in our history, and in their unparalleled effects. We should often retrace them, not merely to admire, but to follow them, though with unequal steps. For we cannot confide in a better judgment, nor in purer integrity. We should love our country the better for having such a leader. Our love and reverence for this great man and his associates, who established our independence and our nation, should be a strong bond of union, a powerful spring to the love of their and our common country." pp. 271–273.

We take leave of Professor Felton, with an acknowledgment, in which we are sure that all the old pupils of Dr. Popkin will share, for his labors of love in editing this volume. If the resonant sentiment of Dr. Johnson be literally true — that "whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings," — we have by his labors been advanced in the dignity of human beings; for this memorial of Dr. Popkin has made the past predominate over the present, at least for a season. We enter once more that well-remembered recitation-room, with a Græca Majora in our hands. The tall form and sturdy stride of our old teacher reappear, as we read. We see now his abstracted gaze, his old tricks, and his awkward movements. We hear him call up our classmates, one by one, many of whom have now, like him, passed away from earth; we recall his curt and broken observations, and the invariable "you may sit," with which every examination was closed. We peep once more into the lonely study of the solitary scholar, with its grim portraits of Greek authors over the mantle-piece, its book-cases filled with Greek and Latin books, the row of boots and shoes, which commonly stood in one corner, and its general aspect of comfortless disarray. The years that have passed, since all this was before our eyes, seem like a dream when the morning has dawned.

ART. VIII. — *Memoir of the Life and Writings of* THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D. *By his Son-in-Law*, the REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 4 vols. 12mo.

WITH what vigor has Scotland, in these later years, sustained her old claim to the highest rank in science, literature, philanthropy, and art! The names of her sons are familiar to the dwellers in every civilized land, and will be, evermore. Her songs are sung on the shores of the Pacific and Indian oceans. Her romances are familiarly known in every log cabin of our mountains, are household books in New Holland and New Zealand. Her histories are pondered, her criticism is watched, wherever civilization and the English language have found their way. Her science is authoritative in the highest schools. Her art adorns the halls of many a proud academy. Her practical skill and energy compete successfully with that of every nation. Robertson and Dugald Stewart, Burns and Scott, Jeffrey and Wilson, Alison and Hamilton, Brewster and Miller, (to mingle the great living with the great dead,) are but a few of those names which go to make up the glory of the nation, — names of which any country might be proud.

In honorable companionship with these, and with the noblest Scottish men of any century, may now fairly be named Thomas Chalmers. His life covered an important period; and although, from his profession, excluded from political life, he was largely engaged in matters of public concern, and, as almost the crowning act of his career, lent his vigorous and efficient aid to that great movement on the part of the Scottish church whose results we cannot yet fully comprehend. John Knox was scarcely a more sturdy and systematic reformer; but Chalmers had a beauty and gentleness which Knox never knew. Whitefield was hardly a more moving preacher; but the great Scotchman had a breadth and compass of mind, a variety and profoundness of knowledge, to which the Methodist could lay no claim. Robertson could hardly have been more considerate of the prejudices, or honest differences of opinion, in men of

the highest intelligence; yet Chalmers will be remembered as the fervent and self-denying religious teacher, to whom truths the most profound and far-reaching were as his daily food, when the learned and moderate Principal will be thought of only as an elegant scholar and an accomplished historian.

In the unimportant town of Anstruther, county of Fife, on the northern shore of the Frith of Forth, its gray houses with their red roofs stretching along the border of the sea, Thomas Chalmers was born, March 17, 1780, the sixth in a family of fourteen children. The germs of future greatness are not always clearly developed in youth. A mind which matures slowly, and expands symmetrically, is often early unnoticed, while that which is forced and eccentric attracts attention. Had Dr. Chalmers died young, he would not, very likely, have formed the subject of a biography, or of an uncommon eulogy. As a schoolboy, he was remembered as among the merriest, idlest, strongest, and most generous; with undoubted capacity for learning, when he chose to apply himself, and with something of the energy and self-reliance, which were marked characteristics of his future life. Before he was twelve years old, he became a member of the United College of St. Andrew's, and a fellow-student with Lord Campbell. His first two years at the University were marked by his devotion to boyish amusements, such as football and handball, "in which latter," says a contemporary, "he was remarkably expert, owing to his being left-handed." The third year was distinguished by the awakening of his mind; and the study which attracted him most was mathematics, and especially geometry. Other studies, however, pressed upon his attention. His father was a Calvinist in religion, and a Tory in politics. The tendencies of St. Andrew's were against both; and the son manifested his early independence by rejecting the paternal instructions, and adopting, for a time, the more pleasing schemes which offered themselves to his notice. At the age of fifteen, he was enrolled as a Divinity student, although his attention was still mainly devoted to the mathematics. One book, however, took fast hold of his mind, as it had done of Robert Hall's at a still earlier age. He studied Edwards

on the Will with so much ardor, that some of his friends were afraid that his mind would lose its balance. The grandeur of the thoughts that were suggested, the awfulness of that Divine Being who stood at the centre of the universe, through whom all things existed and by whom they were sustained, so filled his mind, that the difficulty of reconciling human responsibility and the Divine purposes seemed not then to have touched him. Twenty-four years afterwards he wrote to Mrs. Chalmers, —

"O that He possessed me with a sense of His holiness and His love, as He at one time possessed me with a sense of His greatness and His power, and His pervading agency. I remember when a student of Divinity, and long ere I could relish an evangelical sentiment, I spent nearly a twelvemonth in a sort of mental elysium, and the one idea which ministered to my soul all its rapture was the magnificence of the Godhead, and the universal subordination of all things to the one great purpose for which He evolved and was supporting creation. I should like to be so inspired over again, but with such a view of the Deity as coalesced and was in harmony with the doctrine of the New Testament." Vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

Perhaps quite as important a part of his mental discipline consisted in his attempts at writing and extemporaneous speaking. In the debating club, the most distinguished members were Lord Campbell and John Leyden. Leyden seems to have been the most noted of the two; and the remark which his biographer speaks of his having made to a friend of great abilities, but who refrained from speaking through excessive diffidence, reveals the secret of his success. "I see what will happen," said Leyden to him one day, after having in vain exhorted him to overcome his timidity; "I shall, through constant practice, at last be able to harangue, while you, through dread of the ridicule of a few boys, will let slip the opportunity of learning this art, and will continue the same diffident man through life."

Leaving the venerable university in 1798, after nearly seven years' residence, Chalmers entered a gentleman's family as private tutor. The relations here between employer and employed turned out unhappily. Insolence and haughtiness on the one side provoked indignation on the other; and after suffering various petty

annoyances, which he always took some means of resenting, he returned to St. Andrew's for a brief space, and in July, 1799, at the early age of nineteen, was licensed, according to the customs of the Presbyterian church, as a preacher of the gospel. During the next month, he made his first appearance in the pulpit, and, if we may trust his brother James, exhibited something more than the germs of those qualities which afterwards rendered him the most effective of modern Scottish preachers. Having no place in view as a permanent residence, he spent the next winter and most of the following year in Edinburgh, in diligent attendance upon the instructions of Playfair, Dr. Hope, (who had just succeeded Dr. Black in the chair of chemistry,) Prof. Robison, and Dugald Stewart; where his independence and intellectual vigor manifested themselves in the judgment which he formed and expressed of the value of the lectures of Stewart, considered as profound and scientific discussions.

Early in 1802, he commenced his ministerial labors at Cavers, though with the expectation of an early removal to another parish, when another prospect offered itself so attractive, that he bent all his energies to gaining it. The office of mathematical assistant at St. Andrew's had become vacant, and he not only obtained the situation, but, during the autumn of the same year, was elected to the living of Kilmany. He entered upon his duties as mathematical instructor with an ardor seldom bestowed upon that branch of study, and stimulated the zeal of his pupils by a warmth of coloring in his lectures, to which they had probably before been entire strangers. The session did not pass, however, without some differences between himself and the mathematical professor, the result of which was that, the next year, it was intimated to him that his services would not be longer required. This he regarded as bearing with it an imputation on his character, and virtually shutting against him the door to that university preferment which was the dearest dream of his life. He resolved, therefore, to give private lessons at St. Andrew's in mathematics and chemistry, besides supplying his pulpit at Kilmany every sabbath; and this task he had the energy to accomplish, the very audacity and self-reliance and generous courage of the undertaking

covering the charge of impropriety. The next winter he repeated his course of lectures on chemistry, and a vacancy happening in the department of natural philosophy at St. Andrew's, he offered himself for it. It was, however, given to another. The next month, Professor Playfair having succeeded Dr. Robison at Edinburgh, he sought an election as Playfair's successor. He failed, though receiving quite as much support as one so young and comparatively unfriended could expect; and the contest is memorable only as giving rise to an eloquent and bitter pamphlet, his earliest publication, which he afterwards referred to under circumstances of great interest. It seems, that, during the canvass, the name of Dr. Macknight, a minister of Edinburgh, and at one time an assistant of Dr. Robison, was brought forward very prominently as a candidate, it being proposed that he should perform the duties of the professorship and his ministerial functions at the same time. To this arrangement Professor Stewart strongly objected; and Mr. Playfair also wrote a letter of remonstrance, in which, among other things, he urged, not only that there were few Scottish clergymen distinguished for mathematical attainments, but that eminence in these was incompatible with clerical pursuits. This last "cruel and illiberal insinuation" especially touched the feelings of Mr. Chalmers; and he came forward with a sharp and vigorous defence of his order, contending that two days in the week were sufficient to enable a clergyman to perform successfully his peculiar duties, while the remaining five might be devoted to any science to which his tastes might lead him. Twenty years afterwards, when Dr. Chalmers's opinion on the subject of pluralities had long since undergone a decided change, this passage, from the anonymous and forgotten pamphlet, was introduced against him, in a debate before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, in which he had taken part. His serious and dignified reply was most impressive.

"Sir," said he, "that pamphlet I now declare to have been a production of my own, published twenty years ago. I was indeed much surprised to hear it brought forward and quoted this evening; and I instantly conceived that the reverend gentleman who did so, had been working at the trade of a resurrec-

tionist. Verily I believed that my unfortunate pamphlet had long ere now descended into the tomb of merited oblivion, and that there it was mouldering in silence, forgotten and disregarded. But since that gentleman has brought it forward in the face of this house, I can assure him, that I feel grateful to him, from the bottom of my heart, for the opportunity he has now afforded me of making a public recantation of the sentiments it contains. I have read a tract entitled the 'Last Moments of the Earl of Rochester,' and I was powerfully struck in reading it, with the conviction how much evil a pernicious pamphlet may be the means of disseminating. At the time when I wrote it, I did not conceive that my pamphlet would do much evil; but, sir, considering the conclusions that have been deduced from it by the reverend gentleman, I do feel obliged to him for reviving it, and for bringing me forward to make my public renunciation of what is there written. I now confess myself to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable Assembly.

"The circumstances attending the publication of my pamphlet were shortly as follows: As far back as twenty years ago, I was ambitious enough to aspire to be successor to Professor Playfair in the mathematical chair of the University of Edinburgh. During the discussion which took place relative to the person who might be appointed his successor, there appeared a letter from Professor Playfair to the magistrates of Edinburgh on the subject, in which he stated it as his conviction, that no person could be found competent to discharge the duties of the mathematical chair among the clergymen of the Church of Scotland. I was at that time, sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But *then*, sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes* — I thought not of the littleness of time — I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity!"

"For a moment or two after the last words were spoken, a death-like stillness reigned throughout the house. The power

and pathos of the scene were overwhelming, and we shall search long in the lives of the most illustrious ere we find another instance in which the sentiment, the act, the utterance, each rose to the same level of sublimity, and stood so equally embodied in the one impressive spectacle." Vol. iii. pp. 87 – 89.

The residence of nearly thirteen years at Kilmany was marked by a steady intellectual progress, and still more, perhaps, by a decided change in his estimate of the purposes and duties of his profession, and of his own fitness for them; a change upon which he always laid the greatest stress, and for a full account of which we must refer our readers to the first volume of the Memoirs. At the age of twenty-seven, Mr. Chalmers began his publications on the difficult subject of Political Economy. On the 21st of November, 1806, Napoleon promulgated his celebrated Berlin Decree, by which the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade; all communication with them was prohibited; all letters or packets addressed in English were to be seized at the post-office; all English subjects to be made prisoners of war; all English property declared confiscated; commerce in English goods absolutely forbidden; no vessel coming from England or its colonies, or having touched there, to be received into any harbor. By this severe and unparalleled measure, it was intended so to distress England, to cripple her resources, and to disaffect her people, that she might the more easily yield to the dominant power of Bonaparte. The British manufacturers and merchants felt the blow; the country generally sympathized with them, and all imagined themselves on the verge of ruin. The retired minister of Kilmany took a different view, and endeavored, through a work which might develop some of the principles of a science little understood, to encourage the hearts of the desponding. He contended that the only loss would be in those foreign luxuries, which the country could well afford to do without; that the manufacturer of exported commodities would indeed have to change his business, but would, in the end, find an adequate return from the inland consumer, on whom, at any rate, he ultimately relied. The book had a good sale in Scotland, and was somewhat read in England. His own interest in its success was very great, and would have been even more

absorbing, had not his mind been arrested by severe domestic affliction.

Not long afterwards, he appeared for the first time before the General Assembly, in a speech which, although the topic was unattractive, drew to himself a wide attention. He was also engaged in another kind of composition. The Edinburgh Encyclopædia had been commenced, under the editorship of Sir David Brewster, who solicited his assistance. At first, he chose certain mathematical subjects, but subsequently solicited the editor to assign to him the article "Christianity," which was accordingly done. The topic itself indicates the change that was going on in his feelings, to which we shall presently allude. When the volume of the Encyclopædia which contained the article was first published, in 1813, it attracted considerable attention, and was the occasion of some criticism. It was objected by some, that he dishonored the internal evidences of Christianity by speaking so slightingly of them. Others contended, that the principles of his argument "not only subvert the conclusions of natural theology with the internal evidence, but destroy also the external proofs;" that "he makes common cause with the sceptic," and "turns the arms of Christianity against natural religion, her ancient and faithful ally." These attacks led him, not to controversy, but to a more careful examination of the grounds upon which he based his arguments, and subsequently to the more mature and more fully considered series of discussions by which he endeavored conclusively to establish the truth of Christianity. The article for the Encyclopædia was prepared, however, with great deliberation, and patient study of writings on both sides, and may be considered as forming a part of the standard literature of the subject.

During these years at Kilmany, the pen of Mr. Chalmers was busy upon many topics, in sermons which were published, in pamphlets, and in articles for reviews. It illustrates happily the candor which ever eminently characterized him, that when the outcry against geology, as infidel in its tendencies, was strongest, he, and almost he alone, of the Scottish clergy, yielded its mind to his principles so far as they were clearly established, and was in-

clined to discern in its facts a fresh proof of the truth of Revelation. The assertion of the great antiquity of our earth led him, not at once to reject geology, but to reconcile it, as to himself he satisfactorily did, with the account contained in the book of Genesis. This was emphatically the seed-time of his life. The enterprises of Christian philanthropy at home and abroad, for which England has been so distinguished, had taken strong hold of his attention. We have seen that political economy formed one of his studies. The condition of the poor, especially as connected with the diffusion of religious and moral education, deeply interested him. On the formation of the Bible Society, with its auxiliaries, a controversy had sprung up, not quite so sharp and bitter as had attended the earlier foreign missionary efforts, but touching more closely the economy of every parish. For, it was said, by absorbing the charity of the public, liberality to the poor would be diminished, and poverty condemned to increased suffering. Mr. Chalmers, with an earnestness amply justified by the subject, showed, by argument and illustration, how futile was the objection; and, while pleading in general for the diffusion of the Word of God, demonstrated, at the same time, that the best remedy for poverty was in establishing those principles and habits which would go far to prevent its existence.

"The education and religious principle of Scotland," he said, "have not annihilated pauperism, but they have restrained it to a degree that is almost incredible to our neighbors at the South. They keep down the mischief in its principle; they impart a sobriety and a right sentiment of independence to the character of our peasantry; they operate as a check upon poverty and idleness. The maintenance of parish schools is a burden upon the landed property of Scotland; but it is a cheap defence against the poor rates, a burden far heavier, and which is aggravating perpetually. The remedy against the extension of pauperism does not lie in the liberalities of the rich; it lies in the hearts and habits of the poor. Plant in their bosoms a principle of independence; give a high tone of delicacy to their characters; teach them to recoil from pauperism as a degradation. Could we reform the improvident habits of the people, and pour the healthful infusion of Scripture principles into their hearts, it would reduce the existing poverty of the land to a very humble fraction of its present extent."

Two other events occurred during his residence in the quiet parish of Kilmany, which exerted a marked influence on his life. One was his marriage, August 4, 1812, to Miss Grace Pratt, who, for thirty-five years, rendered his household so honorable and his domestic life so happy. The other, of wider influence still, was the change which came over his method of regarding religious topics. Upon this subject we cannot enlarge, but neither can we neglect to notice it. It will be remembered, that, in early life, he regarded the work of his ministry as quite subordinate to his literary and philosophical pursuits. Various events happened, which led to an entire change of his views. His favorite brother, George, older than himself by three years, had returned from the sea (he had chosen the profession of sailor, and had risen to the command of a merchant ship, which also carried, in time of war, letters of marque,) to die of consumption in the arms of his brother. In less than two years, his sister Barbara became a victim of the same disease. An uncle, the most intimate and affectionate friend of his father, had passed away from life in an instant, without a warning, and apparently without a struggle. He himself was seized with a long and severe illness, which confined him to his room for four months, and kept him from the pulpit for six, and left him so reduced in strength that it was a year or two before he fully recovered. All these things brought him to a profound meditation on the brevity of time, the magnitude of eternity, and his own duties and responsibilities. The result was, an entire revolution in his views of certain portions of religious truth, and a decided change in the course of his life. The chapters which detail this change are the most interesting of the biography, whether considered practically or psychologically; and the most beautiful, too, as exhibiting the lowliness and humility of his spirit, while he was commanding the admiration of his friends, and extending wider and wider a reputation for eloquence and intellectual power which was soon to fill the whole kingdom. We do not remember, anywhere, a more candid, simple, and direct statement of truths, upon which he was brought to rely, free at the same time from every tinge of bigotry or conceit, or undue self-reliance, than in the letters to his friend, James Anderson, whose intellect he respected as much as he prized his heart.

His eloquence, we have said, began to be known. The quiet and rustic audience at Kilmany could not conceal, any more than they could fully appreciate it. It was the eloquence of a full heart and an exuberant and vigorous mind; an eloquence which was not determined by the audience, but by the subjects to which it was directed, and by the irrepressible thoughts and emotions bubbling up from the living fountain within. "If that man," said Andrew Fuller to a friend, with whom he had visited Chalmers, "if that man would but throw away his papers in the pulpit, he might be king of Scotland." Chalmers himself was willing to make the attempt to be an extemporaneous speaker; but he began too late, or did not persist long enough in the experiment; or the habit, not to say, nature, of his mind was uncongenial with the effort. Whatever was the cause, he did not succeed; and ever afterwards, though not confining himself entirely to his notes, he mainly relied upon them. Phraseology, sufficiently powerful and expressive for his thought, would not come at an instant to his bidding; and the result of his unwritten efforts was the unpleasant consciousness that he had omitted much that he wished to say, and had said many things less effectively than he might. A melancholy occasion, for the display of his power in the pulpit, occurred shortly before he was called to leave Kilmany. An early and cherished college friend, by peculiar exposure in saving the lives of a shipwrecked crew, whose vessel was thrown upon a sand bank in the bay of St. Andrew's, by a winter's storm, had laid the foundation of a disease which soon carried him to the grave. Mr. Chalmers consented to preach the funeral sermon the sabbath after the burial.

"It was a brilliant autumn day. The number being too great to be accommodated in the church, one of its windows had been taken out, and a few boards thrown across the sill to form a platform, from which the preacher, while standing but a yard or two from Mr. Honey's grave, might be heard both by those within the building and those seated on the scattered tombstones of the churchyard. A hum in the crowd (I now speak on the authority and almost in the words of an eye-witness,) and a melancholy tolling of the bell, announced the approach of the preacher, who seated himself for a minute or two in an old elbow-chair, took the

psalm-book from a little table before him, turned hastily over a few of the leaves, and then rose in the most awkward and even helpless manner. Before he read the lines which were to be sung, his large and apparently leaden eyes were turned towards the recent grave, with a look wildly pathetic, fraught with intense and indescribable passion. The psalm was read with no promising elocution; and while the whole mass of the people were singing it, he sunk into the chair, turned seemingly into a monumental statue of the coldest stone, so deadly pale was his large broad face and forehead. The text was read: Deut., xxxii., 29, 'O that they were wise; that they understood this; that they would consider their latter end!' The doctrinal truth which he meant to inculcate being established on a basis of reasoning so firm that doubt could not move or sophistry shake it, he bounded at once upon the structure which he had reared; and by that inborn and unteachable power of the spirit, which nature has reserved for the chosen of her sons, and which shakes off all the disadvantages and encumbrances of figure, and voice, and language, as easily as the steed shakes the thistle-down from his side, carried the hearts and passions of all who heard him with irresistible and even tremendous sway. 'It strikes me,' said the preacher, and as the words were spoken there was a silence among the living almost as deep as that which reigned among the dead who lay beneath, 'It strikes me as the most impressive of all sentiments, that it will be all the same a hundred years after this. It is often uttered in the form of a proverb, and with the levity of a mind that is not aware of its importance. A hundred years after this! Good heavens! with what speed and with what certainty will those hundred years come to their termination. This day will draw to a close, and a number of days makes up one revolution of the seasons. Year follows year, and a number of years makes up a century. These little intervals of time accumulate and fill up that mighty space which appears to the fancy so big and so immeasurable. The hundred years will come, and they will see out the wreck of whole generations. Every living thing that now moves on the face of the earth will disappear from it. The infant that now hangs on his mother's bosom will only live in the remembrance of his grandchildren. The scene of life and of intelligence that is now before me will be changed into the dark and loathsome forms of corruption. The people who now hear me will cease to be spoken of; their memory will perish from the face of the country; their flesh will be devoured with worms; the dark and creeping things that live in the holes of the earth will feed upon their bodies; their coffins will have mouldered away, and their bones be thrown up in the new-made grave. And is this the consummation of all things? Is this the final end

and issue of man? Is this the upshot of his busy history? Is there nothing beyond time and the grave to alleviate the gloomy picture, to chase away these dismal images? Must we sleep forever in the dust, and bid an eternal adieu to the light of heaven?" Vol. i. pp. 438 – 440.

There heard him, on this occasion, with peculiar interest, five members of the Town Council of Glasgow, for his name had been spoken of for the Tron church in that city. The canvass was very spirited, but resulted in his election; and, after some hesitation about leaving the quiet retreat of Kilmany, endeared to him by so many important events in his history, for the wider, more stirring, and more exhausting scenes of the city, he determined to accept the call.

The residence of Dr. Chalmers in the great commercial city of Scotland, from 1815 to 1823, was attended with very interesting results. Though only thirty-five years old, he soon established a position so commanding as to redeem the mind of the city itself from the exclusive influences of trade. The sphere in which he moved was so clearly above that of calculation and economy, that no one could come even within its outermost circles, without being caught up to some nobler purposes than he had been wont to indulge in. He was a scholar and a thinker, more profoundly versed in the sciences than most of those who heard him, and none the less at home in them, because his masculine and vigorous eloquence swept the minds of his hearers along with him towards regions with which natural science has too often been thought to have no concern. Those minds, indeed, were not few whom he rescued from inconsiderate and unworthy notions on religious subjects, not only by compelling their personal respect, but by demonstrating, what indeed has never lacked proof, that an humble Christian faith is entirely consistent with the widest knowledge, and the most original activity of the mind.

He had not been long in the city, before it became his turn to conduct a service in the Tron church on a Thursday, a service which was maintained every week by the clergymen of the city, in rotation. He made the occasion memorable forever, by delivering the first of his Astronomical Discourses, a series which occupied all the after-

noons allotted to him during the year 1816, and attracted more attention than any series of modern discourses in the United Kingdom. The old church, which often, on such occasions, presented a melancholy array of empty pews, was now crowded before the hour of service.

"Long ere the bell began to toll, a stream of people might be seen pouring through the passage which led into the Tron church. Across the street, and immediately opposite to this passage, was the old reading-room, where all the Glasgow merchants met. So soon, however, as the gathering quickening stream upon the opposite side of the street gave the accustomed warning, out flowed the occupants of the coffee-room; the pages of the Herald or the Courier were for a while forsaken, and during two of the best business hours of the day, the old reading-room wore a strange aspect of desolation. The busiest merchants of the city were wont, indeed, upon those memorable days to leave their desks, and kind masters allowed their clerks and apprentices to follow their example. Out of the very heart of the great tumult, an hour or two stood redeemed for the highest exercises of the spirit; and the low traffic of earth forgotten, heaven and its high economy, and its human sympathies and eternal interests, engrossed the mind at least and the fancy of congregated thousands." Vol. ii. p. 98.

The Discourses were published soon after their delivery, and their success exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. The volume "ran an almost equal race" with the "Tales of my Landlord," published just before. Six thousand copies were sold in ten weeks, and within a year, nine editions had been disposed of. A new vein had been struck. An original and fervent mind had kindled the admiration of all by a kind of composition generally regarded as the least attractive. Readers of various classes found in the book something to admire. The scientific wondered at the brilliancy of its delineations; the thoughtful rejoiced at its solution of difficulties; the devout accepted with gratitude its humble and earnest tributes to the truth; the man of letters was captivated with the magnificence and sweep of its thought. The fervor of this first admiration we may now well temper, and accept in part the cool and somewhat severe criticism of John Foster, as Chalmers himself, with wonted modesty, admitted its justice. Still, the power

and beauty of these Discourses strike us with hardly less force than at the first reading; and we cannot but remember how much easier it is to pick a flaw here and there, than to conceive the simple but beautiful plan, much more to execute it so magnificently. The domain of astronomy has been much enlarged within a few years; new and better instruments have largely extended the limits of our vision. But the grandeur of astronomical science has never been more impressively set forth than it was by his fervent words; and the subjection of all science to revelation, the subordination of all knowledge to divine wisdom, has never been more fully and vehemently enforced.

It was not, however, by these occasional displays of power alone, nor perhaps chiefly, that Dr. Chalmers gained his greatest influence in the commercial metropolis of Scotland, but by labors more wearisome, and by preaching on themes more familiar, but not less momentous. He devoted himself, with all the energy of his mind, to the religious and moral welfare of the city. Its schools, the condition of its poor, the building of new churches and chapels, the administration of its charities, besides the more direct duties of his ministry, required of him an amount of labor, which, under our free and voluntary system, we can hardly conceive of. From the Tron church, indeed, he allowed himself to be transferred to St. John's, a parish with a population of 10,000, in order that he might have the opportunity of carrying out his plans respecting the management of the poor. He drew largely upon the assistance of the laity, and inspired all who came to his help with something of his own enthusiasm. The parish was divided into twenty-five districts, over each of which were appointed an elder and a deacon. In each district were established sabbath schools. There were necessarily meetings of the deacons, of the sabbath school teachers, of the session, and of the educational association; and all these he regularly attended, infusing his own zealous spirit through all the gradations of intelligence which had cheerfully entered his service. While connected with the Tron church, he had found his time so much taken up by intrusive calls, that he made the evil the subject of two public discourses,

in one of which, after depicting, in a manner sufficiently striking to attract the most careless, the various annoyances to which he was subjected, he burst forth in one of those fervid strains, by which he was apt to connect a subject of narrow and comparatively transitory interest with the permanent and grandest concerns of human destiny. He showed what losses the learning and literature of Christianity suffered by the unceasing and unnecessary demand upon its ministers for extra labors, and closed as follows: —

"Now, my brethren, what I strongly contend for is, that in like manner as the Bible of Christianity should be turned into all languages, so the preaching of Christianity should be turned to meet the every style of conception, and the every variety of taste, or of prejudice, which can be found in all the quarters of society. The proudest of her recorded distinctions is that she is the religion of the poor — that she can light up the hope of immortality in their humble habitations; that the toil-worn mechanic can carry her Sabbath lessons away with him, and, enriching his judgment and his memory with them all, can bear them through the week in one full treasury of comfort and improvement — that on the strength of her great and elevating principles, a man in rags may become rich in faith, and looking forward through the vista of his earthly anticipations, can see on the other side of all the hardship and of all the suffering with which they are associated, the reversion of a splendid eternity. Ay, my brethren, such a religion as this should be made to find its way into every cottage, and to circulate throughout all the lanes and avenues of a crowded population, and the friend of the species might take it along with him to the tenements of want and of wretchedness, and knocking at every door where there is a human voice to bid him enter, he may rest assured that if charged with the message of the gospel, humanity in its rudest forms may hang upon his lips, and rejoice and be moralized by the utterance which flows from them. But, my brethren, while I would thus have the religion of the New Testament to send her penetrating influences through the great mass of the towns and families of the community, I would not have her to skulk, in timid and suspicious distance, from the proudest haunts either of wealth or of philosophy. I would have her to carry, as she well might, such a front of reason, and to lift such a voice of eloquence, and to fill her mouth with such a power and variety of argument, as should compel the most enlightened of the land to do her reverence. I would have her — with as firm and

assured footstep as Paul ascended the hill of Areopagus, and, amid the assembled literature of Athens, drew an argument for the gospel from the poetry and the mythology of Athens — I would have her, even now, to make her fearless way through the halls and the universities of modern Europe, and as she stood confronted with the erudition of academic men, I would have her to equal and to outvie them. Oh! tell me why it should be otherwise! Tell me why the majesty of truth should ever want an able advocate to assert and to proclaim it, or why the recorded communication from God should ever want a defender of learning to vindicate its evidence and its history!" Vol. ii. pp. 127 – 129.

In the mean time, his reputation for eloquence was becoming more widely spread. Crowds flocked to hear him preach. The most intelligent and cultivated were as much fascinated as the unlearned. The church, on a week-day forenoon, was crowded half an hour before the time of service. On one occasion, the inner front door was closed, in order to keep the aisle leading from it to the pulpit empty. But the crowd was too great and too resolute, to allow such a portion of the interior to remain empty. The Doctor had no sooner entered the pulpit than the pressure from without burst in the door, and, in an instant, the vacant space was crammed. Dr. Wardlaw was present on this occasion, and says of it, —

"On the way home, we talked, *inter alia*, of this occurrence. He expressed, in his pithy manner, his great annoyance at such crowds. 'I preached the same sermon,' said he, 'in the morning; and for the very purpose of preventing the oppressive annoyance of such a densely-crowded place, I intimated that I should preach it again in the evening;' and with the most ingenuous guilelessness, he added, 'Have *you* ever tried that plan?' I did not smile — I laughed outright. 'No, no,' I replied, 'my good friend, there are but very few of us that are under the necessity of having recourse to the use of means for getting thin audiences.' He enjoyed the joke, and he felt, though he modestly disowned, the compliment." Vol. ii. p. 168.

Nor was this a provincial popularity merely. It stood the test of the more critical audiences of the metropolis, because based, not on the accidents of a transitory excitement, or a pleasing manner, but on the exuberance and richness of thought, on the profound verities which are

the exclusive possession of no time or place, and on the deep emotions which these truths, when fully realized, will call forth. On the 14th of May, 1817, he preached the anniversary sermon of the London Missionary Society. The service did not commence till eleven o'clock; yet, as early as seven in the morning, the place was crowded to excess, and thousands were obliged to go away for want of room. While in London, Wilberforce, Canning, and Huskisson, many peers of the realm, and devoted members of the church of England, were among his hearers. On one occasion, the crowd was so great that the preacher was very nearly excluded from the pulpit, the dense mass being absolutely impenetrable, and the request to *make way for Dr. Chalmers* being taken by the knowing ones as a *ruse* of ingenious persons, who wished to get a place in front.

Among the most interesting of the secondary personages, who move in this narrative about the central figure, is that of the eccentric, but highly gifted, Edward Irving. He appears first, as the assistant of Chalmers at St. John's, where he attracted many whose minds sympathized with his, and where he did still better service in household visitation among the poor, by his commanding presence, his ingenuous honesty, his vigorous intellect, and, above all, his tender and generous sympathies. After leaving Scotland for London, where, for some years, he drew crowds after him by the splendor of his eloquence, he yielded more and more to the vagaries of an enthusiasm, which, even as we look back coolly upon it, is singularly beautiful and fascinating. He adopted strange views of the prophecies, and believed in miraculous gifts as conferred upon the church; and when some among them pretended to the gift of speaking with unknown tongues, he greedily swallowed the delusion, and defended it with a strength and beauty worthy of a much better cause.

"There is a power in the voice," he says, in describing it, "to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call

it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and sublime utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and of art exhibited at the oratorios in the concerts of ancient music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive church. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and the heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly formed, well pronounced, deeply felt discourse, which evidently wanteth only the ear of him whose native tongue it is to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech." Vol. iii. pp. 253, 254.

Alas, that ear was never found! and the brilliant enthusiast lived to see himself avoided, and almost distrusted, by many who ceased not to admire his genius. Dr. Chalmers, with the almost excessive candor which was natural to him, took pains to send some of the writings of one of the most noted of these users of an unknown language to Sir George Stanton, and Dr. Lee of Cambridge, that he might learn from those linguists if it resembled that of any known language. But on hearing Irving preach, he says, "I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite woful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but with all, a mysticism and an extreme allegorization, which I am sure must be pernicious to the general cause."

"I undertook to open Irving's new chapel in London," Dr. Chalmers says, elsewhere. "The congregation, in their eagerness to obtain seats, had already been assembled about three hours. Irving said he would assist me, by reading a chapter for me, in the first instance. He chose the very longest chapter in the Bible, and went on with his exposition for an hour and a half. When my turn came, of what use could I be in an exhausted receiver? On another similar occasion, he kindly proffered me the same aid, adding, 'I can be short.' I said, How long will it take you? He answered '*only one hour and forty minutes.*' Then, replied I, I must decline the favor." Vol. iii. p. 276.

Meantime, the enthusiast went on, from one degree of self-exaltation to another, yet never escaping from the love of his early friend and colleague. For after all, he

was of a noble nature, and his infirmities and faults those of a generous and magnanimous soul. His death, while yet in the prime and vigor of manhood, has a melancholy interest. Advised by his medical friends to spend the winter in Madeira, he obeyed rather some miraculous voice of the church, which commanded him to go northward, and do a great work in Scotland. Taken violently ill at Liverpool, he had but just begun to recover, when, in spite of prohibitions, he went on board the steamer for Greenock. From Greenock he went to Glasgow, but the powers of life could carry him no farther. Still, he doubted not that he should be raised up for the great labor, till increasing weakness compelled him, at the last hour, to seek a solace in uttering the truth by which he had lived. "The sum of the matter is, if I live, I live unto the Lord; and if I die, I die unto the Lord; living and dying I am the Lord's." We can understand and sympathize with the testimony of Carlyle. "But for Irving, I had never known what the communion of man with man means. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul, mine ever came in contact with; I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever (after trial enough) found in this world, or now hope to find."

Chalmers, too, was full of enthusiasm, but of enthusiasm controlled by his judgment, and based upon truth. He was enthusiastic in his preaching, in his efforts for the poor, in his patriotism, in his loyalty. It warms us to read his account of the visit of George IV. to Leith and Edinburgh,— the same which so stirred the feelings of Scott. Had it not been, indeed, for that great sea of emotions, which, quiet and simple and unaffected as Chalmers usually was, could be lashed up to such awful commotion, we should have heard little of his name or his influence.

In January, 1823, Dr. Chalmers was elected to the chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrew's, and felt himself compelled by the state of his health, no less than inclined by his tastes, to accept the offered professorship. Some of his friends thought it strange, and nearly inexcusable in him, to give up the wide field of his power, and go to be "extinguished" in the retired college. But in the university, his energy was felt no less than in the parish.

His lectures on moral philosophy, and his favorite science of political economy, were full of instruction, and delivered with an energy which did not fail to awaken the interest of his many pupils. Nor could the indirect influence of a mind of that high order be much less upon the keen and generous susceptibilities of youth. Had we time, we should like particularly to dwell upon some of the scenes of his professional life, as exhibiting, very strikingly, some interesting features of his character. He had not been there many years, before he was solicited to take the chair of Moral Philosophy in the London University. This was declined; but almost at the same time he was elected Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, and was thus brought to make his last removal to that metropolis of the intellectual life of Scotland, and to that important chair which he retained till the disruption of the Presbyterian church led to his resignation. His introductory lecture was delivered amid rapturous applause; and throughout the course, his audience consisted not merely of his regular students, but of educated men from all the professions, and of the intelligent citizens of Edinburgh, from whom, at the close, he received the very handsome testimonial of two hundred and two pounds sterling. This was given, partly, in recognition of the fact that, at the time of his appointment, the regular stipend of the office amounted to a little less than that sum. In presenting that tribute, it was gratefully noticed by the donors, not only that the lecturer had given to Theology so dignified a place among the sciences, placing it conspicuously at the head of all, but that he had developed his peculiarities of belief with such a generous candor, as to promote a kindliness and catholicity of feeling among those who were separated by diversities of doctrinal views and by different forms of church government. Yet no one ever charged him with slightly or indifferently maintaining "the awful but venerable tenets of the Calvinistic creed," which the symbolical books of the Scottish Church so clearly propound, and which he so fully accepted. That breadth of mind and magnanimity were indeed admirable, which enabled him, while judging himself with the utmost severity, to be so charitable to others. While bating nothing of his own theological faith, and defending it,

when rudely and presumptuously attacked, with such gigantic vehemence, he candidly regarded the difficulties and sympathized with the perplexities of those who widely differed from him; so sympathized, indeed, that he brought into free and almost confidential religious intercourse with himself men of the highest intelligence and proudest self-respect.

A short time after becoming fairly established in Edinburgh, he was brought before the public in support of a political measure which produced great excitement. Early in 1829, the English Ministry introduced a bill into Parliament for relieving the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics. In due time, a meeting of the citizens of Edinburgh was called, in order to petition in favor of the bill. Nearly two thousand people were crowded into the Assembly Rooms, and they were addressed, among others, by *the* two men of Edinburgh, Francis Jeffrey and Thomas Chalmers. Jeffrey's speech was marked by gracefulness, good taste, and generous feeling; Chalmers's, by the earnestness and vehemence with which he pleaded the cause of religious liberty.

"It is not by our fears and our false alarms," he said, in conclusion, "that we do honor to Protestantism. A far more befitting honor to the great cause is the homage of our confidence; for what Sheridan said of the liberty of the press, admits of most emphatic application to this religion of truth and liberty. 'Give,' says the great orator, 'give to ministers a corrupt House of Commons; give them a pliant and servile House of Lords; give them the keys of the Treasury and the patronage of the Crown; and give me the liberty of the press, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the fabric of corruption, and establish upon its ruins the rights and privileges of the people.' In like manner, give the Catholics of Ireland their emancipation; give them a seat in the Parliament of their country; give them a free and equal participation in the politics of the realm; give them a place at the right ear of majesty, and a voice in his counsels; and give me the circulation of the Bible, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the tyranny of Antichrist, and establish the fair and original form of Christianity on its ruins." Vol. iii. pp. 244, 245.

The effect was magical. Shouts and huzzas filled the air, the audience standing and waving their hats. Jeffrey himself said that he thought eloquence had never produced a greater effect upon a popular assembly; and his

biographer adds, "no more powerful emotion was ever produced by words, than at the close of Chalmers's address. Brilliant and glowing as his written pages are, they are cold and dull compared with his spoken intensity. The rough broken voice, — the ungainly form, — the awkward gesture, — the broad dingy face, — gave little indication of what was beneath. But the capacious brow! — and the soul; *mens agitat molem.*" *

In 1832, Dr. Chalmers published his treatise on Political Economy, and in the year following, his Bridgewater treatise, on "The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man." Both of these works were received with much consideration, but yet with criticism. Towards the former, indeed, one Review, the Quarterly, assumed a flippant tone, which nothing in the work itself would justify, even if the character of the writer were not enough to shield him. The subject of Political Economy, and especially the condition of the poor, and the remedy of pauperism, had long interested the mind and sympathies of Dr. Chalmers. His work was not strictly and solely scientific, if indeed it is possible, at present, to reduce the facts to a strict science. The large number of the poor, living always on the very verge of extreme suffering, and whom the slightest fluctuations in national prosperity might bring to actual starvation, attracted his attention as a christian and a patriot; and in bringing prominently to view those moral causes which seemed to bear upon the disease, and to suggest the remedy, he did a work which writers upon the subject are apt to neglect or ignore. Scotland now pays annually, to support her paupers, upwards of two and a half millions of dollars; and yet the charity is not adequate to the destitution. Is Ireland or England better off? The question respecting the condition of the poor in Great Britain is certainly the most pressing one that can claim the attention of her statesmen and philanthropists. Negro slavery is not so urgent with us; and those fierce philanthropists, on the other side of the Atlantic, who are so free to denounce us, might well be advised to look a little more narrowly to the condition of things

* Lord Cockburn's *Life of Jeffrey*, Vol. i. p. 221

at home. But we know too well that social evils are not to be remedied at once, nor by violence. The remedy, we know full well, is dark and doubtful, even to the most honest, sagacious, and courageous minds. Whether it be in emigration, the country being overstocked, or in a larger distribution of landed property, in a more liberal public relief, or a more active private charity, or in neither, or in all, we cannot say. Dr. Chalmers's favorite idea was, that the most efficient remedy lay in the moral education of the people, and in the consequent prudence and self-respect which would be diffused, while the small amount of suffering, from misfortunes or unavoidable calamities, would be met by parochial relief supplied by private charity. This, he thought, had been historically demonstrated. "A moral and intelligent peasantry, imbued with a taste for the respectabilities of life, mixing prudence and foresight with every great practical step in the history of their doings, holding it discreditable to enter upon marriage without the likelihood of provision for a family, — such a peasantry have more than once been exhibited in the annals of the world, and may be made to reappear."

We cannot stop to develop his general views in political economy, which were strongly Malthusian; nor can we do more than notice, both in his earlier and later publications on this subject, what Mr. Carlyle, in a characteristic and noble letter, written in reply to a letter accompanying a volume on the Parochial System as a Remedy for Pauperism, in 1841, calls the "wholesome, grateful air of hope, brotherly kindness, and cheerful sagacity," which pervades them. "With a Chalmers in every British parish," he adds, "much might be possible! But alas! what assurance is there that in any one British parish there will ever be another? But enough of this. Go as it may, your labors in this matter are not lost — no jot of them is lost. . . . My prayer is, that a voice so humane, so true, and wise, may long be heard in this debate, and attentively laid to heart on all sides."

Nearly connected with his plans for the relief of the poor, and essential, as he thought, to their success, was his project for "church extension;" for, without the religious instruction of the people, he had no hope of any

lasting social improvement. The population, especially of the large towns, had prodigiously increased; yet the number of churches and parishes remained nearly the same. From personal examination, he concluded, that, in many manufacturing districts, not above one eighth of the population had sittings in any place of worship, or made any profession of Christianity. The General Assembly finally became interested in the matter, and a deputation visited London for the sake of obtaining aid from the government. It was kindly received by the Melbourne ministry, and when the whigs were succeeded by Sir Robert Peel, the good-will towards this scheme seemed to have been transferred to the new Premier. All at first promised well; but it was not long before all the parties opposed to the establishment made so vigorous an opposition, by public meetings, by sermons, by pamphlets, and petitions to Parliament, that the ministry forbore to render the assistance asked for.

Thus, in the two great practical objects on which he had set his heart, he was destined to fail. His views respecting pauperism were not generally accepted, nor were his efforts for church extension successful; and it is touching to hear the humble, self-condemnatory tone, with which that great and generous heart, "dejected and disconsolate," but not misanthropic or uncharitable, speaks of itself, as if the cause of failure might be in its own lack of purity of motive.

"The passage respecting Babel," he writes, in his *Horæ Sabbaticæ*, referring to the Scripture account, "should not be without an humble and wholesome effect upon my spirit. I have been set on the erection of my Babel — on the establishment of at least two great objects, which, however right in themselves, become the mere idols of a fond and proud imagination, in as far as they are not prosecuted with a feeling of dependence upon God and a supreme desire after his glory. These two objects are, the deliverance of our empire from pauperism, and the establishment of an adequate machinery for the Christian and general instruction of our whole population. I am sure that, in the advancement of these, I have not taken God enough along with me, and trusted more to my own arguments and combinations among my fellows than to prayers. There has been no confounding of tongues, to prevent a common understanding, so indispensable to that coöperation without which there can be no

success; but without this miracle, my views have been marvellously impeded by a diversity of opinions, as great as if it had been brought on by a diversity of language. The barriers in the way of access to other men's minds have been as obstinate and unyielding, as if I had spoken to them in foreign speech; and though I cannot resign my convictions, I must now — and surely it is good to be so taught — I must now, under the experimental sense of my own helplessness, acknowledge, with all humility, yet with hope in the efficacy of a blessing from on high still in reserve for the day of God's own appointed time, that except 'the Lord build the house, the builders build in vain.' In thine own good time, Almighty Father, regenerate this earth, and gather its people into one happy harmonious family." Vol. iv. p. 208.

How different this from the pride of a disappointed and soured reformer! How different its judgment from that probably pronounced upon him by many of his opponents, who thought they knew him well! His private efforts, however, could in no sense be considered failures. He conducted a wide correspondence; he issued circulars; he addressed the country through the public press; he organized a system of meetings in various parts of Scotland; and as the result of all, he was able to report to the General Assembly in 1838, that nearly two hundred churches had been built, at a cost of more than a million of dollars.

In the midst of these labors, he received various academic honors and testimonials. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and a corresponding member of the Royal Institute of France. Oxford, too, with a courtesy which she has not always manifested, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws; "neither of which last two distinctions," says his biographer, "had ever previously been bestowed upon a clergyman of the Scottish Establishment."

The year 1838 was witness to an event in the life of Dr. Chalmers, which provoked various criticisms, and was variously interpreted. The passing of the English Reform Bill had excited the fears of many for the fate of the Establishment itself, — fears which were renewed and aggravated, when the Irish Tithe Bill, some years afterwards, proposed to take a considerable portion of the revenues of the Irish Church, and apply them to other than

ecclesiastical purposes. Various methods were proposed in opposition to this aggression. Among them, was a system of lectures to select and influential audiences in London, through whom the principles applicable to the subject might be widely diffused. Dr. Chalmers was requested to address the "Christian Influence Society," as it was called; and consented, because he thought it would afford an opportunity for unfolding in "a didactic, rather than in a controversial form, the true theory of a religious establishment, and demonstrating its peculiar efficacy, as the only instrument capable of diffusing, universally over a whole country, the lessons of Christianity." He prepared himself with extraordinary care, and expectation was excited to the highest pitch. One of the most massive, philosophical, and honest minds of the country and the age, was applying itself to a discussion of a practical question, among the most difficult of those which agitated the times; a question on the answer to which hung the very existence of that honored and venerable Church which had come down through centuries of mingled fortune; which numbered among its bishops and ministers, Latimer and Ridley, Taylor and Cudworth, Leighton and Butler; which had travelled in the wilderness, while its way was wet by the blood of martyrs; which had raised its triumphant banner on the mountain tops, while songs of joy ascended from ten thousand thousand voices; and which, at that very moment, was walking in serene majesty through every city and every hamlet of the United Kingdom. All this seemed to many imminently perilled by the agitations which disturbed the public mind, and by the hazardous movements of hostile or indifferent legislators. And the champion whom they had called to their aid, — it could not but strike many an observer, — was not one of themselves. The arm on which they relied, and which was put forth so firmly and magnanimously, was of a minister whom some of their prelates would not allow to have a right to administer the sacraments of the Church or to preach, from her pulpits, while some might even have left his salvation to the "uncovenanted mercies of God." The audience was most select. The rooms in Hanover Square had seldom contained a a larger assembly, never one more carefully chosen;

Members of Parliament, Barons, Earls, Marquises, Dukes, and Prelates crowded the benches. The lectures were received with the utmost enthusiasm, with waving of hats and shouts of applause. One passage, in particular, drew forth a tumultuous burst of approbation, equal to any thing recorded in the annals of eloquence. "If all you mean by an Establishment," an American clergyman had said to him, "is an organized provision for a clergy, we should rejoice in it. The thing we deprecate is the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion."

"Now," said Dr. Chalmers, "this organized provision is truly all that we contend for. . . . It should never be forgotten that, in things ecclesiastical, the highest power of our Church is amenable to no higher power on earth for its decisions. It can exclude; it can deprive; it can depose, at pleasure. External force might make an obnoxious individual the holder of a benefice; but there is no external force in these realms that could make him a minister of the Church of Scotland. There is not one thing which the State can do to our independent and indestructible Church but strip her of her temporalities. *Nec tamen consumebatur* — she would remain a Church notwithstanding — as strong as ever in the props of her own moral and inherent greatness; and, though shrivelled in all her dimensions by the moral injury inflicted on many thousands of families, she would be at least as strong as ever in the reverence of her country's population. She was as much a Church in her days of suffering, as in her days of outward security and triumph; when a wandering outcast, with naught but the mountain breezes to play around her, and naught but the caves of the earth to shelter her, as now, when admitted to the bowers of an Establishment. The magistrate might withdraw his protection, and she cease to be an Establishment any longer; but in all the high matters of sacred and spiritual jurisdiction, she would be the same as before. With or without an Establishment, she, in these, is the unfettered mistress of her doings. The king, by himself or by his representative, might be the spectator of our proceedings; but what Lord Chatham said of the poor man's house, is true in all its parts of the Church to which I have the honor to belong — 'In England every man's house is his castle; not that it is surrounded with walls and battlements; it may be a straw-built shed; every wind of heaven may whistle round it; every element of heaven may enter it; but the king can not — the king dare not!" Vol. iv. pp. 55, 56.

As he pronounced this last passage, he rose from his usual sitting position, and uttered the words with an

energy which swept every thing before it, and brought out an enthusiastic response from every hearer; the whole audience sprung, as if unconsciously, to their feet, and rent the air with their applause.

The Church to which he belonged, and for which he had mainly spent his strength, was now, however, approaching that great revolution in which he bore a part so distinguished and so honorable; that revolution which Lord Jeffrey considered "the greatest event that has occurred in Scotland since the rebellion in 1745, if not since the Union;" and which, though it might not demonstrate the error of his principles, yet so strikingly illustrated the difficulty of their practical operation. For many years, there had been growing up a difference of opinion on the question whether a Presbytery was bound to ordain any candidate presented by the party having the living in his gift. On one side, it was held that this was always their duty; on the other, that the Presbytery were at liberty to refuse ordination, if, in their opinion, the minister could be of no use to the people. As early as 1834, the General Assembly enacted, with a view to allay the agitation of the topic, that the dissent of a majority of the heads of families in a vacant congregation should be a sufficient reason for refusing to ordain the candidate, — unless such dissent should appear to spring from malicious motives. As this measure was advocated by men who were in favor of retaining the system of patronage, it was thought that all reasonable differences would be reconciled.

There soon appeared, however, other parties in the contest. The Earl of Kinnoul presented a Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder; but the candidate proved so little acceptable, that, out of a population of three thousand, only two persons came forward to sign the call. The matter was finally referred to the General Assembly, under whose instructions, Mr. Young was rejected by the Presbytery, so far as that parish was concerned. In connection with the patron, he brought an action in the civil courts against the Presbytery, — at first, to determine who had then the legal right to the stipend, but presently, by a change of the action, to decide whether the proceeding of the Presbytery was not entirely illegal. The case

was considered of great consequence, and was argued before the full bench of the Court of Sessions, and finally decided, eight judges to five, against the Presbytery. The minority were Lords Fullerton, Moncrieff, Glenlee, Jeffrey, and Cockburn. Here was a decision that the presentees *must* be inducted into the parishes, however objectionable and odious to the people. Although the decision did not cover the whole ground, since, though pronouncing the course of the Presbytery illegal, the court had not decided what it ought to do; yet the first step involved the second, and there came up the vital and absorbing question, "whether the church had any jurisdiction independent of the control of the civil power." The Auchterarder case was carried by appeal to the House of Lords, by whom the decision of the Scottish Court was confirmed. In the mean time, the General Assembly, profoundly moved by this unexpected attack upon its liberties, had solemnly resolved, by a majority of 183 to 142, that, "while they acknowledged the entire jurisdiction of the civil courts in all matters pertaining to the civil rights and emoluments secured by law to the church and the ministers thereof," "yet in all matters touching the doctrine, government, and discipline of the church, her judicatures possess an exclusive jurisdiction;" "and that this spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy and sole head-ship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert, and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that great God, who, in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecution, to maintain a testimony even to the death, for Christ's kingdom and crown."

We have no room to indicate even, much less to detail, the proceedings within and without the Establishment, the earnest discussions, the appeals to Parliament, the consultations with leaders, now of the whigs, and then of the conservatives, the hopes raised only to be disappointed, the adverse and oppressive decisions, the wanton ridicule and vehement personalities, through which the minds of so large a body of clergy and people were brought to a determination so momentous, as the breaking away from the Church of their fathers.

No long time was necessary for the occurrence of new

cases and still more stringent difficulties between the civil and ecclesiastical courts. Presbyteries were summoned before the Judges to receive censure for their proceedings; the courts assumed that they had a right to interfere, whenever any civil rights were directly or indirectly affected by decisions of the authorities of the Church. Hence, an interdict was granted where a minister had been for a time forbidden to officiate, because this act fixed a stigma on his sacred character.

"The minister of Stranraer had been accused of various acts of fraud, and his Presbytery were proceeding in his trial, when he applied to the Civil Court 'to suspend the whole proceedings of the Presbytery;' and 'further to prohibit, interdict, and discharge the said Presbytery from taking cognizance of the pretended libel.' The minister of Cambusnethan had been found guilty of four separate acts of theft, and the Presbytery were about to depose him, when he raised an action of reduction in the Court of Session, and obtained an interdict against their proceeding. Mr. Clark, the presentee to Lethendy, who was living in the manse of which he had taken possession, was accused of repeated acts of drunkenness, and the Presbytery of Dunkeld had entered upon the investigation of these charges, with a view to deprive him of his license. But he, too, had recourse to the great Protector, and an interdict against the Presbytery had been issued." Vol. iv. p. 279.

Interdicts were served against members of certain Presbyteries, to prevent them from sitting in the General Assembly. Patrons and their presentees brought suits for the recovery of large damages from Presbyteries which refused to ordain; and these damages, in one case, were placed at nearly 80,000 dollars. The press could not be silent in this exasperation of public feeling. The Dean of Faculty, who had taken an active part in the proceedings against the Church, came out with a bulky pamphlet, to which Dr. Chalmers replied with a resoluteness and vigor, a dignity and plainness of speech, with which the Dean had perhaps not been accustomed to be addressed.

The whole course of events from 1838 to 1842 demonstrated, more and more conclusively, that an interpretation of the law would be sustained, which the clergy felt would put them entirely within the power of the civil magistrate, and that there was no remedy within the

Establishment. To such a community, they had never sworn allegiance. Their liberties were far dearer than the advantages derived from such an alliance with the state. A solemn convocation of four hundred and fifty ministers was held in Edinburgh, not to debate, but to deliberate; and after six days of anxious consultation, the decision was made. It was a decision made with deliberation, consecrated with prayer, and based upon the most solemn convictions of duty; yet the public was incredulous. An English Review, devoted to the cause of dissent, but unable to appreciate the depth and sincerity of the feeling in the Scottish clergy, had said, a year or two before, with a pertness and superciliousness which little became it, —

"The Scottish establishment is . . . servile to the secular powers, when she has her own ends to gain — very mighty when her vested rights are, in her view, menaced or invaded. . . The means she has employed to assert her spiritual liberties, prove, on closer inspection, to be mere points of form — practically inapt and futile — little more, in short, than the vaporing airs of a body who, feeling their bondage, and galled with the shame of it, submit to the yoke under protest, and thus labor to indemnify themselves by stout words of independence for the loss of intrinsic jurisdiction.' 'Before the adjudication of the Auchterarder case, some rather high flights were adventured by Dr. Chalmers and others, in asserting the independence of the Church, and in vaunting their readiness to lose all, and, even like their covenanting fathers, to take to the moors and the mountains, rather than surrender their spiritual liberties. But these tropes meant nothing. The Church is pronounced to be the creature of the State. The mandate has been issued to the presbytery of Auchterarder, to proceed to induct the rejected presentee. One of the presbyteries stood as a culprit, and submitted to solemn censure at the bar of the court. These things are done, and the Church, if not mute, is powerless; the way to the moors is open, but the talk of martyrdom is quashed, when opportunity and a loud call arise to make a sacrifice for consistency and principle."

A Presbyterian clergyman in London publicly stated, — "If Government is firm, I venture, from pretty accurate information, to assert that less than one hundred will cover the whole secession. . . . I am not satisfied that any will secede;" and a day or two before the event, a sagacious citizen of Edinburgh wrote, "Mark my words — not

forty of them will go out." The sacrifice was indeed great, but the opposers understood not the profoundness of the movement, or the spirit of the men. They knew not that the spirit of the martyrs, whose ashes repose in the old Gray Friars' churchyard, was still alive in Scotland.

The day for the final meeting of the unbroken General Assembly at last came, the 18th of May, 1843. After the usual services in St. Giles's Cathedral, — a venerable structure, within whose walls, two hundred years before, had been taken the oath to the Solemn League and Covenant, — the Assembly, attended by the Marquis of Bute, the Lord High Commissioner, met in St. Andrew's church. After the Assembly had been opened, the Moderator, Dr. Welsh, proceeded, amidst the breathless anxiety of the audience, solemnly to announce his protest and that of his fellow clergymen against violations of the received liberties of the Church, and their consequent determination to withdraw from the Establishment in which they could no longer conscientiously remain. Having read the protest and laid it upon the table, he turned and bowed to the Commissioner, left the chair, and walked out of the church, followed by more than four hundred ministers, and a still larger number of elders. They were greeted with cheers by the crowd without, and proceeded through the thronged streets, watched by curious, friendly, or jealous eyes, to a hall prepared for their reception, and which, from an early morning hour, had been filled with an expectant crowd. Dr. Chalmers was immediately chosen moderator, and the assembly, thus constituted a free and independent body, proceeded to business.

Nowhere, in modern times, has there been an exodus so heroic as this, — four hundred and fifty of the clergy voluntarily laying down their livings, relinquishing an annual revenue of more than five hundred thousand dollars, — ministers from the cities exchanging their costly and attractive places of public worship for humble halls in uncomfortable localities, — ministers in quiet country places going from their pleasant manses, where there was literally not a house to receive their families, or a foot of ground on which a church could be erected, or a room in which they could minister to the congregations which

accompanied them. Well might Lord Jeffrey say, "I am proud of my country." Well might he, too, and other intelligent Scotchmen, complain of the short-sighted policy of a government which, with no more intelligence of the public feeling, or indifferent to the result, should, without earnest efforts at conciliation, have allowed such a body of the most active, sincere, and devoted members of the established Church, for no error of doctrine or of practice, to go out from that body, not angrily, but sorrowfully, shaking off the dust of their feet as a testimony against it. We cannot but believe that a little more of a friendly and conciliatory spirit, and a few concessions on the part of the government, would have saved the disruption, preserved the integrity of that ancient Church, satisfied every mind in it, and retained for it a strong and direct hold upon the people, while its own honor and prerogatives would have been left inviolate. No sum of money can adequately represent the value to the Establishment of retaining within itself, not only, we say, that noble body who were thus, against their sympathies and established habits, expelled from it, but that one noble genius, whose eloquence had so vigorously defended it, and whose name will be handed down to posterity as one of the truly great men of Scotland.

Yet, in hardly any view, can we regret the result. It has, indeed, brought into existence another religious body, while we are far more anxious for union, in these days, than for separation. But it has given another demonstration of the power of a noble purpose, of the life and energy of the highest virtues. We think better of Scotland, more hopefully of the race. The heroic times have not entirely gone by, nor have prudence and thrift and commercial sagacity rooted out from the heart every nobler principle. And the interests of charity and philanthropy, of honesty and fidelity at home, and benevolence abroad, — these, too, will not in the end be found to suffer. Besides all, there has been demonstrated again, under circumstances of great interest, both the inherent practical difficulties of a union of Church and State, and the possibility of the prosperity of the former without the aid of the latter. Dr. Chalmers, indeed, never changed his opinion of the importance of such a union between the

two, as should secure from the Government a proper encouragement and support, and from the Church an organized and vigorous attack upon the heathenism fearfully increasing among the people. Yet he was the leader in the movement which entirely dissevered the one from the other.

We do not propose to follow the history of the Free Church, the petty annoyances or serious trials of its earlier days, or its more peaceful and prosperous course afterwards. Yet it is worthy of notice, for it marks the depth and power of the movement, that, at present, it numbers between eight and nine hundred congregations; has established a large sustentation fund; has built nearly seven hundred churches, and five hundred manses; has created five hundred schools, and a college with nine professorships, with a salary secured to each of from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars, — the people having given, for these and other purposes, about $15,000,000. It has sent its missionaries to Canada and the West Indies, to the Jews in central Europe, to Constantinople and Australia; and, as long ago as 1847, was raising annually, for education and religious charities, three times as much as the united Church of Scotland did in 1843.

"It is a favorite speculation of mine," says Dr. Chalmers, "that, if spared to sixty, we then enter on the seventh decade of human life; and that this, if possible, should be turned into the sabbath of our earthly pilgrimage, and spent sabbatically, as if on the shore of an eternal world, or in the outer courts, as it were, of the Temple that is above, the Tabernacle in heaven." He had entered far into that seventh decade, — not to him a season of rest, — when the establishment of the Free Church was completed. To his unwearied labors, his prudence and foresight, it owed much of its success. His interest in it did not divert his mind from the higher objects, for the attainment of which it was, after all, but an instrument. He was hardly released from his most pressing labors in connection with it, before he reverted again to his favorite plan of operating upon the lower classes in the city, who seemed utterly beyond the influences of Christianity. He chose the worst locality of Edinburgh, the West Port, and opened his school in a

room at the end of the very "close" made infamous by the atrocious murders of Burke and his associates. The school prospered. An excellent superintendent was obtained. A church was finally built, and, but a few weeks before his death, he presided over its first sacrament, administered to one hundred and thirty-two communicants, in a region which, two years before, was regarded as beyond the reach of charity.

During these years, however, he seems to have felt himself drawing towards the end. Though of a vigorous frame, he could not quite endure the full amount of former labors. His thoughts seem to have been turned backward over the earlier periods of life; his affection, always so simple and hearty, to have become still more chastened and beautiful; and his old age to have fully ripened the best fruits of a noble life. One who heard him in his bursts of overpowering eloquence, when every obstacle seemed loosening and sweeping away under the tide of passionate feeling, would not suspect, perhaps, the childlike simplicity and truthfulness and humility, which so conspicuously marked his private demeanor. One who saw him only when endeavoring to elucidate some difficulty in theology, or establish some favorite point in political economy, would not have conjectured how gentle and playful he was with his children and grandchildren, nor how patient and sympathizing in the cottage of the poor.

We are glad that Dr. Hanna has devoted a chapter to the minor traits of character, the private manners and ways, of Dr. Chalmers, so that we may see the man at home; the father frolicking with his children; the host presiding at his table, as well as the professor in his chair, and the orator in the pulpit; so that we may get a glimpse of the letter, down which his pen wandered so resolutely, but so strangely, that nobody could read it, and even his father was driven to lay it on the shelf "for Thomas, when he comes home, to read it himself;" so that we may hear the unfamiliar music of that broad Scotch accent and dialect, which he was never ashamed of and never avoided, and gaze upon that massive figure, and the furrowed countenance, with its mingled expression, when in repose, of dreamy heaviness and intelli-

gence, and its illumination and fervor when in action; and listen to his vehement speaking, without the grace of art, yet with the substantial, unvaried gesture most harmonious with the truthful and earnest character which never aimed at display, and never used a motion nor a word, but for the sake of exalting, or illustrating, or riveting the thought. "I shall blush to my very bones," said he, to Margaret Fuller, alluding to the outcry of the abolitionists against the Free Church for receiving money from American slaveholders, "I shall blush to my very bones, if the *Chaarrch* yield to the storm." His manner of speaking this gave her, she says, "a hint of the nature of his eloquence." Most of these private memoranda we must pass by entirely.

In 1845, after an absence of several years, he visited again his native village of Anstruther, sought out the companions of his boyhood, and gathered the shells on the beach, and the flowers from the hedges.

"But the most interesting visit of all was to Barnsmuir, a place a few miles from Anstruther, on the way to Crail. In his schoolboy days, it had been occupied by Captain R——, whose eldest daughter rode in daily, on a little pony, to the school at Anstruther. Dr. Chalmers was then a boy of from twelve to fourteen years of age, but he was not too young for an attachment of a singularly tenacious hold. Miss R—— was married (I believe while he was yet at college) to Mr. F——, and his opportunities of seeing her in after life were few, but that early impression never faded from his heart. At the time of this visit to Anstruther, in 1845, she had been dead for many years; but, at Dr. Chalmers's particular request, her younger sister met him at Barnsmuir. Having made the most affectionate inquiries about Mrs. F—— and her family, he inquired particularly about her death, receiving, with deep emotion, the intelligence that she had died in the full Christian hope, and that some of his own letters to her sister had served to soothe and comfort her latest hours. 'Mrs. W——,' said he, eagerly, 'is there a portrait of your sister anywhere in this house?' She took him to a room, and pointed to a profile which hung upon the wall. He planted himself before it — gazed on it with intense earnestness — took down the picture, took out his card, and, by two wafers, fixed it firmly on the back of the portrait, exactly opposite to the face. Having replaced the likeness, he stood before it and burst into a flood of tears, accompanied by the warmest expressions of attach-

ment. After leaving the house, he sauntered in silence round the garden, buried in old recollections, heaving a sigh occasionally, and muttering to himself—'more than forty years ago!' It is not often that a boyish feeling survives so long, and still less frequent that, after such a life of variety and occupation as his had been, it should break out so freshly and strongly; nor would we have ventured to record the incident, did it not appear to us to prove, that Dr. Chalmers was as much distinguished for the tenderness and tenacity of his attachments, as for the brilliancy of his intellectual gifts." Vol. iv. pp. 433 – 434.

An immediate effect of the Disruption, was the refusal of the landed aristocracy of Scotland to grant sites for the erection of new churches and manses. This grievance finally became so great, that the General Assembly petitioned Parliament for redress. A committee of the house was appointed, before whom Dr. Chalmers was requested to appear as a witness. This led to his visiting London in May, 1847; and the visit appears, by the record in his journal, to have been every way agreeable. He was most cordially greeted by many old friends, and found many new ones. Returning home by the way of Oxford and Bristol, he reached Edinburgh, apparently in good health, on Friday, May 28th. The General Assembly was in session, and he occupied Saturday forenoon in preparing a report to be read before it on Monday. On the Sabbath, he attended service at the Free Church at Morningside, in the afternoon; and afterwards, walking alone in his garden, he was overheard, saying, in low but earnest tones, "O Father, my Heavenly Father!" The evening was delightfully spent with his family, to whom, on retiring early, he waved his hand, bidding them "a general good night." The next morning, his housekeeper knocked at the door, but received no answer. She entered; the room was dark; she opened the shutters, and drew back the curtains of the bed. There he reclined, half erect, upon his pillow, a "fixed and majestic repose" resting upon his countenance. His arms and hands lay as he was accustomed to place them when he slept, but the brow was cold and the heart motionless. Without the sign of a struggle or a pang, and, as appeared probable, "very shortly after that parting salute to his family, he had entered the eternal world." On the following Friday,

his body was borne to its last resting-place, accompanied by the members of the General Assembly, the magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, the professors of the college, the teachers and students of the schools, and multitudes of citizens, under the sorrowful gaze of a hundred thousand spectators. "It was the dust of a Presbyterian Minister," said an Edinburgh newspaper, "which the coffin contained; and yet they were burying him amid the tears of a nation, and with more than kingly honors."

We have no space, and there is certainly no need, to attempt a more critical estimate of the abilities or the labors of Dr. Chalmers. A merely literary man he certainly was not; his mind turned naturally to science rather than to letters; he thought himself intended by nature for a military engineer. He was not contented with receiving the speculations or discoveries of others, but endeavored to add to the substantial stock of knowledge. What the author of "Peter's Letters" said of him, more than thirty years ago, was true to the end of his days.

"It is easy to see that he has a mind most richly stored with all kinds of information; . . . but all his stores are kept in strict subservience to the great purposes of his life and profession — and I think, various as they are, they gain instead of losing, both in value and interest, from the uniformity of the object to which he so indefatigably bends them. It is the fault of the attainments of most of the gifted men of our time, that they seem to be in a great measure destitute of any permanent aim, with which these attainments are connected in any suitable degree. But with him, there is ever present the sense and presiding power of an aim above all others noble and grand — the aim, namely, and the high ambition, of doing good to his countrymen, and of serving the cause of religion." *Peter's Letter to his Kinsfolk*, Am. ed. p. 478.

A lover of philosophy, he was not metaphysical in the hard or narrow sense, and though fond of analysis, he was an orator rather than a logician. Wherever he was, he exerted the sway of a monarch by the power of a capacious and original mind, and gained the triumphs of his eloquence, not by gratifying the prejudices of his hearers, or by concealing an unpalatable truth, but by

the mingling of argument and illustration, the exuberance of language, the splendor of coloring, the fearless and uncompromising attack; by bringing the whole strength of his thought, all alive with passion, to bear upon the truth which thoroughly possessed his own soul. Had he written less, he might have exposed himself to less criticism; but neither could we judge of him with so much satisfaction and certainty. But, far above and beyond all that he was intellectually, were his noble qualities as a man. The virtues which Spenser sang of, in his Faerie Queen, as going to make the ideal of "magnanimity," were largely exemplified in him. At the age of thirty-five, all Scotland and England were alive with his fame; his genius was recognized by the best minds of the land; and thenceforward, through life, his position was among the foremost intellectual men of his day;— yet never did honors make him forget humility, or the most intoxicating applause lead him to swerve from the path of unaffected simplicity, and kindness, and rectitude. High-toned and generous, enthusiastic and full of sentiment, with a touch of chivalry even; keenly sensitive to rebuke, yet receiving with acquiescence every truthful and fair-minded criticism, and grateful for approbation; capable of great severity when provoked, and indulging sometimes in fearful bursts of indignation at injustice, or insult, or negligence, or meanness, and not always discriminating between an incapacity and a fault; intolerant of all narrowness and bigotry: without jealousy and without fear;—his virtues and his faults were those of a great and resolute and enthusiastic mind.

A Scotchman in language and in patriotism, yet with affection and sympathies quite cosmopolitan, he imparted his energies broadly to the country itself, and gathered to himself the love and admiration of every noble mind with which he came in contact. Men of large knowledge and of various opinions and tastes came lovingly to find gratification in his capacious intellect, and sympathy in his many-sided affections. He was a theologian of firm, and, as some would think, somewhat austere opinions; yet none could be more candid or considerate to every inquirer for the truth than he; none would stoop lower, or labor more cheerfully, to remove difficulties from

an honest understanding; none bowed more implicitly to the words of Revelation, or refused more earnestly to believe that all truth was compressed into a human creed.

"Let me not," he prays, in his *Horæ Sabbaticæ*, as if from some urgent impulse, "let me not be the slave of human authority, but clear my way through all creeds and confessions to thine own original Revelation. . . . Deliver me, O, God, from the narrowing influences of human lessons, and more especially of human systems of theology. Teach me directly out of the fulness and freeness of thine own Word, and hasten the time when, unfettered by sectarian intolerance, and unawed by the authority of man, the Bible shall make its rightful impression upon all, because the simple and obedient readers thereof call no man master, but Christ only."

And so, with reverence and love, we take our leave of him, this illustrious man, whose life has honored and dignified his country and his age. "He *has* gone over to the majority," to the great assembly of the just and good. This century shall not see his like again. Scotland will cherish his memory among her regalia; while the devout, the humble, the fervent, the noble-hearted, in many lands and in many times, will draw their grand lessons from his life, and instruction from his works.

Of the biography itself, we may say, in a word, that it is a complete and noble tribute to the memory of a father and a friend. For the interest of the general reader, many things might better have been omitted; and for the sake of the wider diffusion of so illustrious an example, we should have preferred a briefer work. But we well understand how, written at such a time and by such a hand, it should grow upon its author, and far outrun his first liberal calculations.

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICE.

Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life. By Joseph T. Buckingham. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 2 vols. 16mo.

To the public in general, as well as to the numerous friends of Mr. Buckingham, these volumes will be acceptable and interesting. The author's long and checkered career, as printer, editor, and politician, and his intimate acquaintance with the business to which his life has been devoted, give to these volumes not only a biographical importance, but a broader significance in relation to the history of the country and the times. Mr. Buckingham is a writer of uncommon power. His style is admirably suited to public discussion, being pure, clear, and forcible. No reader ever doubted what he intended to say. Without effort, his writing often rises to a chaste eloquence, and never sinks to feebleness. It is always terse, cogent, and effective. The point and vigor of his sarcasm are very remarkable; and it must be confessed that he has been led sometimes, by the passion of the moment, to indulge more largely in biting speech than the cooler judgment approves when the occasion is past. But this is an almost inevitable incident to the life of a political editor. Mr. Buckingham frankly acknowledges as much in the work before us.

The manly spirit that breathes in these volumes is worthy of all honor. Every thing is told in the plainest style, without suppression or disguise. The literary information preserved in this work is very curious; and the sketches of the numerous characters, with whom the writer has come in contact, are drawn with force and distinctness. But the portion of the book which will most interest the feelings of the reader of sensibility is the opening chapter of the first volume. Here Mr. Buckingham relates the story of his early struggles, through a childhood and youth oppressed by poverty and adversity. The scenes of home, the forms of parents and friends, rise upon his memory, and are delineated with an honest tenderness and pathos rarely surpassed. The sketch of the author's mother, and the simple, unaffected truthfulness of the narrative of her sufferings; — her patient labors to support her fatherless children, her religious trust and the consolations of piety in her darkest hours of trial, form a picture which the most indifferent can scarcely contemplate without tears. This part of Mr. Buckingham's Memoirs will be read with deep sympathy; and the reader will honor him for the affecting

tribute which, so many years after her death, and after the varied fortunes of an active life, he has paused to pay, in a spirit of unforgetting gratitude and filial affection, to the motherly virtues and sleepless love that watched over his struggling youth, to the last moment of her earthly existence. The father died early; of him, Mr. Buckingham gives the following striking reminiscence.

"I have no other recollection of my father *living*, than an indistinct idea of sitting on his knee, and hearing him sing for my diversion; but, of the father *dead*, the picture is fresh and vivid. The sensation that I felt, when carried into the room where the body was laid out in its shroud, I shall never forget. The room was darkened; whether by the closing of window curtains or by a cloudy atmosphere, I cannot tell. The body lay on a smooth board, which was placed on a table. The closed eye and the pale lip, even the plaits on the stock around the neck, (such as were then worn by men and buckled on the back of the neck,) now form as perfect an image in my memory, as the fold in the sheet of paper on which I am writing. Of the funeral, too, my recollection is almost as distinct as the remembrance of the events of the last week. The bier is standing before the door. The coffin is placed on it and covered with a black pall. A procession is formed and goes to the meeting-house. The bell tolls. The funeral prayer is said. The procession is again formed, and proceeds to the burying-ground. The family crowd around the grave. The coffin is laid in its appointed place. Mr. Huntington, my mother's brother, takes me in his arms and holds me over it, so that I may see the coffin. The earth is thrown upon it. I hear the rattling of the gravel upon its lid. I feel now, as I have always felt, when I have called up the remembrance of this scene, the chill which then curdled my blood, and the fluttering of the heart, that then almost suspended the power to breathe." Vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

To this we add another passage, without a word of comment.

"About this time, (i. e. in 1793,) my brother Alexander completed his apprenticeship, and set up the business of shoemaking in Windham. He hired a part of a house in which he and our mother went to housekeeping. Thanksgiving day came soon after, and presented an opportunity to indulge in its peculiar enjoyments. The two younger sons, of whom I of course was one, who lived at a distance from each other, *went home to keep Thanksgiving.* WENT HOME! what thrilling sensations of rapture does that thought communicate to the heart! The festive preparations were completed; the table was spread; around it stood a mother and three sons, who had not been assembled together before within the remembrance of the youngest of the group. The grateful and pious mother lifted her soul and voice to the widow's God, and uttered a blessing on that kindness, which had not broken the bruised reed, and which had known all her sorrows, and permitted her once more to see so many of her orphan children assembled around her. Her expressions of gratitude were not finished when the sentiment of affection and thanksgiving, which swelled in her heart, overpowered her strength; her bosom heaved, as if in strong convulsion; her utterance

was choked; the lips could not relieve with words the soul-felt emotion; she faltered, and would have fallen, had not the elder son caught her in his arms. Tears at length came to her relief, and her agitation was succeeded by those grateful and affectionate sensations, which find no parallel but in a mother's heart. It is now near sixty years since this incident took place. The scene is as bright and life-like in my imagination, as it was at the moment of its occurrence. Eternity cannot obliterate the impression from my memory; and if it could, I would not willingly accept of eternal life on such condition; for, I would never forget that that widow was MY MOTHER. She has long since put off her mortal clothing, and has, I trust, joined that innumerable company that are clad in white raiment, and receive palms in their hands from HIM whom they have confessed in the world." Vol. i. pp. 21 – 23.

We might select many passages of biographical and literary interest, relating to names of great distinction now, as well as others, whose fame has dwindled into vague tradition; but the book is sure to be extensively read, and will always be referred to as an authentic record of an important period in the history of New England journalism.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son. Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation. By Charles Dickens. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

The History of the United States of America, from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the End of the Sixteenth Congress. By Richard Hildreth. Second Series. Vol. III. Madison and Monroe. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo.

Mysteries; or Glimpses of the Supernatural, containing Accounts of the Salem Witchcraft; the Cock-lane Ghost; the Rochester Rappings; the Stratford Mysteries; Oracles; Astrology; Dreams; Demons; Ghosts; Spectres, &c. &c. By Charles Willys Elliot. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 273.

The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France. By Alphonse De Lamartine, Author of the History of the Girondists. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo.

Lydia: a Woman's Book. By Mrs. Newton Crosland. London: R. Groombridge & Sons. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 373.

Sermons, in the Order of a Twelvemonth. By N. L. Frothingham. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 363.

Discourses and Essays on Theological and Speculative Topics. By Rev. Stephen Farley. Boston: Published by H. Farley. 1851. 12mo. pp. 400.

The Virginia Report of 1799–1800, touching the Alien and Sedition Laws; together with the Virginia Resolutions of December 21, 1798; the Debate and Proceedings thereon, in the House of Delegates of Virginia; and Several Other Documents, Illustrative of the Report and Resolutions. Richmond: J. W. Randolph. 1850. 8vo. pp. 264.

The Contemplative Man's Library. Walton's Lives. With Notes and Illustrations. The Life of Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul. London: Henry Kent Causten. 1852. 12mo. pp. 160.

The Mother at Home; or the Principles of Maternal Duty familiarly Illustrated. By John S. C. Abbot. Very greatly Improved and Enlarged. With numerous Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 16mo. pp. 303.

The Child at Home; or, the Principles of Filial Duty familiarly Illustrated. By John S. C. Abbott. Very greatly Improved and Enlarged. With Numerous Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 16mo. pp. 318.

Essays and Reviews, chiefly on Theology, Politics, and Socialism. By O. A. Brownson, LL. D. New York: D. & I. Sadler. 1852. 12mo. pp. 521.

The Blithedale Romance. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 288.

Lotus-Eating: A Summer Book. By George William Curtis, Author of "Nile Notes," "Howadji in Syria," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 206.

Marco Paul's Voyages and Travels. In New York. On the Erie Canal. In Maine. In Vermont. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 16mo.

A Step from the New World to the Old, and Back Again: with Thoughts on the Good and Evil in Both. By Henry P. Tappan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

Lectures on Ancient History, from the Earliest Times to the Taking of Alexandria by Octavianus. Comprising the History of the Asiatic Nations, the Egyptians, the Greeks, Macedonians, and Carthaginians. By B. G. Niebuhr. Translated from the German Edition of Dr. Marcus Niebuhr, by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, F. R. S. E. With Additions and Corrections from his own Manuscript Notes. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 3 vols. 8vo.

Tracts concerning Christianity. By Andrews Norton. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 8vo. pp. 392.

A Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary, for the Use of Schools. Chiefly from the Lexicons of Freund, Georges, and Kaltschmidt. By Charles Anthon, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 1260.

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. With Six Hundred Engravings on Wood, by Lossing & Barritt, chiefly from Original Sketches by the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo.

First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Legislature of the State of California. Eugene Casseby, State Printer. 1852. 8vo. pp. 52.

Atlantic and Transatlantic: Sketches Afloat and Ashore. By Captain Mackinnon, R. N. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 324.

Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. With an Analysis, left unfinished by the late Rev. Robert Emory, D. D., President of Dickinson College; completed and edited, with a Life of Bishop Butler, Notes, and Index, by G. R. Crooks. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 368.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. In Four Volumes. Vol. III. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo.

The Clifford Family; or, a Tale of the Old Dominion. By One of her Daughters. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 430.

Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life. By Joseph T. Buckingham. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

"Single Blessedness;" or Single Ladies and Gentlemen, against the Slanders of the Pulpit, the Press, and the Lecture-Room. Addressed

to those who are really wise, and to those who fancy themselves so. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 297.

London Labor, and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. With Daguerreotype Engravings by Beard. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo.

Maryland, Two Hundred Years Ago: A Discourse by S. F. Streeter. Delivered in Baltimore, before the Maryland Historical Society, on its Seventh Anniversary Celebration, May 20, 1852. Baltimore. 8vo. pp. 76.

Calvert and Penn: or the Growth of Civil and Religious Liberty in America, as disclosed in the Planting of Maryland and Pennsylvania. A Discourse by Brantz Mayer, delivered in Philadelphia before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, April 8, 1852. Baltimore: Printed by John D. Toy. 1852. 8vo. pp. 49.

An Act to Establish a System of Common Schools in the State of California; and other Acts providing for the Revenue of the same, with Explanatory Forms. By John G. Marvin, LL.D. Sacramento: Printed at the Democratic State Journal Office. 1852. 8vo. pp. 40.

Japan: an Account, Geographical and Historical, from the Earliest Period at which the Islands composing this Empire were known to Europeans, down to the Present Time, and the Expedition fitted out in the United States. By Charles MacFarlane, Esq. With Numerous Illustrations. New York: George P. Putnam & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 365.

An Olio of Domestic Verses. By Emily Judson. New York: Lewis Colby. 1852. 12mo. pp. 235.

The Eclectic German Reader: consisting of Choice Selections from the Best German Writers, with Copious References to the Author's Grammatical Works; to which is added a Complete Vocabulary. By W. H. Woodbury. New York: Leavitt & Allen. 1852. 12mo. pp. 280.

Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By Charles Anthon, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 398.

Romance of American History, as illustrated in the Early Events connected with the French Settlement at Fort Carolina; the Spanish Colony at St. Augustine, and the English Plantation at Jamestown. By Joseph Banvard, Author of Plymouth and the Pilgrims, etc. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 306.

Studies on Slavery, in Easy Lessons. Compiled into Eight Studies, and subdivided into Short Lessons for the Convenience of Readers. By John Fletcher. Natchez: Jackson Warner. 1852. 8vo. pp. 637.

Lectures on the Works and Genius of Washington Allston. By William Ware, Author of Zenobia, Aurelian, &c. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 154.

The Eclipse of Faith; or a Visit to a Religious Sceptic. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 452.

The Presbyterian Quarterly Review. No. II. Benjamin J. Wallace, Editor, Albert Barnes, Thomas Brainard, E. W. Gilbert, Joel Parker, Associate Editors. September, 1852. Philadelphia: Published for the Proprietor, by Willis P. Hazard.

Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, on his Motion to Repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill, in the Senate of the United States, August 26, 1852. Washington: Buell & Blanchard. 1852. 8vo. pp. 31.

Slavery in the Southern States. By a Carolinian. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 12mo. pp. 53.

An Address delivered before the Patrons and Pupils of the Buffalo Female Academy, at the Dedication of Goodell Hall, on the 6th of July, 1852. By Charles E. West, LL. D. Buffalo: George Reese & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 42.

The Origin and Progress of Book-Keeping: comprising an Account of all the Works on this subject, published in the English Language from 1543 to 1852, with Remarks, Critical and Historical. By B. F. Foster. London: C. H. Law. 1852. 12mo. pp. 54.

Dunigan & Brother's New and Elegant Edition of the Holy Bible, according to the Douay and Rheimish Versions, with Haydock's Notes. No. 11.

The School for Fathers, an Old English Story. By T. Gwynne. New York: Harpers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 205.

The Institutes of Algebra; being the First Part of a Course of Mathematics, designed for the Use of Schools, Academies, and Colleges. By Gerardus Beekman Docharty, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics in the New York Free Academy. New York: Harpers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 275.

The Personal Adventures of "Our Own Correspondent" in Italy; showing how an Active Campaigner can find Good Quarters when Other Men lie in the Fields; Good Dinners, while many are half starved; and Good Wine, though the King's Staff be reduced to Half Rations. By Michael Burke Honan. New York: Harpers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 428.

The Bleak House. By Charles Dickens. With Illustrations by H. K. Browne. Nos. 6 and 7. New York: Harpers. 1852.

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